

THE CHICAGO JEWISH FORUM

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Duehring, Father of Anti-Semitism

By THEODOR HERZL

Translated by ALFRED WERNER

Translator's note: In 1881 when a wave of pogroms broke out in Elizavetgrad, Kiev, and many other places in South Russia, a German scholar published the "classic" standard work of racial anti-Semitism, *Die Judenfrage als Rassen-, Sitten-, und Kulturfrage*. Its author, Eugen Karl Duehring (1833-1921) was a philosopher and political economist of some renown, who had been removed from the teaching staff of the University of Berlin partly on account of his anti-religious materialism, partly because of his quarrelsome character. Suffering from a weakness of the eyes which ended in total blindness, and burdened with a very unhappy disposition, he turned his paranoiac hatred against the Church, the Social Democrats, the University teachers and, especially, against the Jews. The fact that several Jews were among the professors who demanded that he be deprived of the *Venia Legendi* (the license to teach) may have strengthened his rabid anti-Jewish bias.

With the historian Heinrich von Treitschke, the philosopher Eduard von Hartmann, and the political economist Adolf Wagner he was an originator of what Solomon Schechter called the "higher anti-Semitism" which, according to the Jewish scholar's words, "burns the soul though it leaves the body unhurt." But he differed from these men insofar as he did not merely demand that the Jews be submerged in the German national body, but denied their assimilability and clamored for their physical extermination "as we exterminate snakes and beasts of prey." Duehring was the protagonist of racial anti-Semitism, "the

man who perhaps more than any of his contemporaries anticipated National Socialist anti-Semitism. To his mind race was the all-determining, unalterable factor in the human character" (Hugo Valentin, *Anti-Semitism*, 1936).

Judging by his entry in his diary (February 9, 1882), twenty-one year old Theodor Herzl, a law student at the university of Vienna and contributor to Viennese papers, must have been considerably worried and angered at Duehring's book. For the first time he paid attention to the dire phenomenon of Jew-hatred. His essay which appears here in its first English translation (with the omission of a few repetitious or unimportant sentences) shows the college boy Herzl as a discerning critic, gifted with a sense of pride, irony, and fearlessness which were to distinguish his later writings.

Noteworthy among the writings against Duehring is *Herr Eugen Duehrings Umwaelzung der Wissenschaft* (1878) by Friedrich Engels, the friend and collaborator of Karl Marx, and *Duehrings Hass* (1922) by Theodore Lessing who was murdered by the Nazis in 1933.

HERZL'S ESSAY ON DUEHRING

An infamous book and, unfortunately, as well written as though it had not been dictated by mean envy and taken down by the poison pen of personal vengeance. If such infamous material is presented so frankly, if a mind as well trained and penetrating as Duehring's is, combined with profound and really all-embracing scholarship, can write in such a way—what can we expect from a mob, unrestrained by the fetters of education! He

treats the Jewish question as a racial one and sees in that "vile race" only vile and infamous qualities. This alone casts some suspicion upon the clearness of his conception. How could a race, so base and inactive, have existed for such a length of time, through fifteen centuries of inhuman pressure, had there not been some virtue in it? And that muddler Duehring, who constantly talks of "loyalty" and again of "loyalty"—is he not impressed by the heroic loyalty of that Ahasueran people to its God?

Not at all! The dismissed professor is filled with vindictiveness, impotent hatred, and sickening venom, and if, at the beginning, he restrains himself and adopts scientific airs, the wild horse, hatred, runs away with him in the end, and clinging desperately to its mane, Duehring is carried away by it.

At the beginning we suffer from the delusion that an honest scholar wishes to express himself sincerely on a burning problem (or rather, an artificially created problem), but it soon becomes obvious that it is the spite, the impotent rage of the discharged university professor, which manifests itself with such bitterness. The outrage boomerangs against Duehring: at first he is dangerous, later on he becomes contemptible and ridiculous. Certain disgusting mean qualities of the Jews and Jobbers have found in him a cruel but discerning critic; the fact that vindictiveness has driven him to this observation would be of minor importance if the observation itself were in full accord with the truth. . . . The first chapters of the book, despite their exaggerations and obvious spirit of hatred are sufficiently informative to make required reading for every Jew. The twisted morality of the Jews, and the lack of moral seriousness in many (Duehring says in *all*) of their actions are mercilessly exposed and described. Much can be learned from the book! But as we continue to read, we gradually notice that he has mixed a few true statements

with many false ones, and many deliberate lies, and Duehring who at first was dangerous, is now ridiculous.

He perceived several of our racial qualities very distinctly and acutely, for instance in that excellent passage on page 56: ". . . Furthermore he (Heine) was taken in by so poor a philosophy as Hegelianism and thus again showed that dependence and shortsightedness which is a Jewish feature, always falling for the next best thing that happens to be the vogue and has some superficial ephemeral success." But presently he adds something in the real Duehring-manner to this pertinent sharp observation: "This narrow-mindedness, limiting itself to the worship of the authority of the respective period is a typical Jewish characteristic which certainly does not betray a high intelligence; the Jews consider themselves exceedingly clever, whereas they only pursue that which at that moment, is in the limelight, commercially," and so on.

This is a good example of Duehring's method. First a half-truth, immediately followed by a torrent of rude or false statements.

But I don't know whether the maliciousness or the stupidity of his conclusions should be most emphasized, when he attempts to support this theory about the Jews from historical facts. Let us take, for instance, that disastrous institution of the medieval Canon law which caused an undeniable perversion of the Jewish mind, the law according to which Jews were permitted to take interest, while other people were not. Therefore the unfortunate Jews were the leeches who sucked blood. But just as a leech does not retain the sucked blood for its own advantage, so little did the "Kammerknechte" (serfs of the Imperial chamber) of the Middle Ages profit from these transactions. After all, the money, acquired by usury, was taken from them again, partly by taxation, and partly by threatened, and often actual, cruel vio-

lence. And now a Christian-Teutonic professor rebukes the poor leech for having sucked. What else could the leeches of the Middle Ages—and, I admit, also those of our time—have done? They had to practice usury: after all, what else were the Jews good for? They had to suck because they were the carefully selected and bred leeches, or, to give them a better name, "Kammerknechte" not only of the Emperor, but of all those in power. When the leeches had sucked their fill, they were squeezed dry—if, now and then, one of them perished under this forceful treatment, what did it matter? There can be no doubt that the Jews served up to our time as an indirect means of taxing the people. But did the Jews like this? Wouldn't they have preferred honest trades and to be able to take pride in them?

No, says that keen thinker Duehring, that people of usurers which betrayed and crucified the man who "wanted to redeem it from itself" (that old foolish reproach), that people was given the privilege (oh, how odious and full of dire consequences it was) of taking interest because due to its nature, it inclined to it. Oh you scoundrel who deliberately went astray! Was it not usury that corrupted the people, and made it greedy? Would the Jews have developed the same characteristics which now disfigure them, if, for centuries, they had been kept away from all those contaminating professions instead of being driven into them?

Duehring takes an absolutely narrow-minded and medieval standpoint with his exaggerations and his presentation of Jewish wickedness, and especially with his attempts at "solution." . . . But he is scientifically more enlightened, and more scholarly and somewhat reasonable, and doesn't talk any more of the Passover-slaughter of Christian children, nor of the poisoning of wells. He has progressed with time: he knows that one must not rehash such silly lies which were responsible for the shedding of much hu-

man blood, and so he invents new ones, more plausible and up to date. Christian capital has taken the place of the Christian child; national and Christian capital is being murdered by the Jew in the same way as the Christian child had been, according to those atrocious inflammatory nursery tales now being circulated in print by the "anti-Semites," thanks to the technical progress of our time. These people know how to keep pace with time. . . .

But we must, at least, pay tribute to the shrewd instinct of these sleuths, like Duehring, for they sniff the air and thus scent the Social Democratic anti-capitalistic miasmas—which will probably soon lead to great nation-wide epidemics; they smell them and take advantage of them, according to their convenience. Even the poisoning of wells has its analogy in the "Judaization of the press," which is said to poison the wells of "public opinion." This shows the Jew-baiters' lack of inventive spirit, *saeculis labentibus*. But they certainly realize, as Herr Duehring also observes, that the time has passed for an attack on the Jewish religion. The race must take its place. Modern gasoline must be poured on the medieval stake which has become moist and does not ignite easily, to make the fire flare up lustily and make the crackling fat of roasted Jews send the pleasantest aroma into the straight noses of the Protestants and even "freethinkers" (like Herr Duehring), the successors to the Dominicans, who performed that task in the malodorous Middle Ages. The next step after the burning is the plundering (or vice versa); then people like Herr Duehring and his kind look for booty and find it. One of them takes political economics, the other public opinion, and Herr Duehring may become editor-in-chief of the large newspaper, "loyalty." Greed for booty is the base motif of all movements against the Jews, the centuries have changed nothing in this Aryan morale. They have merely become better educated and cleverer, (the cleverness of

villains) and shrewder. But it is to be hoped that even the fairy-tales about the Jews of our present time will be wiped out by a brighter future, when hearts full of humanity, minds free from passion will look back on these anti-Semitic movements as every educated man, even the educated anti-Semite, now looks back on the Middle Ages.

As for the "solution" of the Jewish problem, so pompously promised by Duehring, it is simply a re-establishment of the Ghetto, a modern systematical de-Judaization of the (ever so profitable) press and of usury (which is to pass completely into German hands), and the media-ization of the financial aristocracy. . . . De-Judaization of the law-courts, of the practice of law and medicine, removal from legislation, in short: "Out with them." But how are these poor people supposed to make a living, if they are forbidden to practice usury, teaching, medicine, law or serve the government, to write for the newspapers, to sell their books, or in fact, to sell anything? Will Duehring and his companions in their greed for booty use part of their income which will be considerably increased by the removal of the dreaded competition, to feed the Jews who may not have any morals, intellect, character, talent, or will power, but who certainly have hungry stomachs?

Duehring, however, is not only greedy for booty; he is also a hypocrite, a scoun-

drel, a counterpart of the Jesuits who constantly talk of "God." He constantly talks of "liberty" and is, therefore, a wicked Jesuit of "liberty," an infamous preacher of liberty. The scoundrel . . . rolls his eyes as though he loved freedom, saying: "Unlimited freedom for all people, but a special law for the Jews," which is the modern way of describing the medieval "Ghetto." And that man dares pronounce the sacred name of freedom!

While Duehring aroused my anger with these passages, he succeeded at other times in affording me real amusement through his outbursts—in the style of his speeches at the Berlin anti-Semitic Congress—against the "half-Jew" Lessing, the "Jew" Gambetta, against Ferdinand Lassalle who had more honesty, love for the people, knowledge, intellect, character, and unselfishness than any number of discredited vulgar professors, like the shabby apostate preacher of "Freedom."

What added to my indignation was the fact that this book is written in such precious, pure and excellent German and that, notwithstanding all denunciatory meanness it contains quite a few good original and reasonable ideas and that one encounters a certain intellectual independence. This independence is, of course, certainly not unselfish and is probably not free from self-interest.

What Can History Do For Us?

By HAROLD J. JONAS

THERE IS A COMMON IDEA that if a man writes about anything that happened yesterday what he has written is history. In its simplest sense history is the record of what happened; written history is merely a device to extend the memory of man. But there is history and there is history. There is the distinction between the events which have occurred and the causes which brought them about. There is the important distinction between the facts of history and their preservation. All of us can be aware of the facts, since we are frequently party to or witnesses of them, but it is a specialist's job to write them down.

History writing has gone through many phases. Beginning with the mere chronicling of events, an effort that is but a few cuts above the kind of diary-keeping that many of us may have attempted in our early youth, written history has progressed to the point where some of its proponents insist that it is a "science" with its own discipline. The debate on this score has been waged steadily for a century and there has been no cessation of the argument. But whether it is the work of the chronicler or the scientific historian we deal with, we have recognized that the interpretative element, the subjective element, must be reckoned with.

In history we are dealing not so much with recognizable chemical factors or measurable physical properties as with a complex of imponderable social and economic factors. We can successfully reduce the human body to measurable and visible quantities of chemicals, but we cannot achieve the same exactness with

human motives. And history, after all, is the sum total of human motives which some have sought to write down in a kind of sequential manner.

Some of the best models of chronicling appear in the Jewish Bible, but it is not often that these accounts are recognized as history. Yet, in the final analysis, that is what they are. Because the Jewish Bible has lived much more successfully than the Jewish people, we have, perhaps, come to feel that history writing can help to solve our problems as well as any other method. That is also, perhaps, the reason that we have come to venerate the history of Graetz, even when we no longer read it. That is also, one may say, why some of the greatest latter-day Jewish literary figures have been recorders rather than codifiers. It would appear to be another ramification of the Jewish role as "the people of the Book."

George Foot Moore once observed that "the making of great history has often given a first impulse to the writing of history . . ." And Jews can feel certain that this aphorism applies to their great historians. It applies almost equally to Graetz and Dubnow as it does to the ancient chroniclers. But can one believe that the obverse is also true? If no history is written can there have been no great history made?

This dismal reflection comes as one seeks for the written history of the American Jewish community. Has not the history of this segment of Jewish life been great enough to have inspired at least one great history? Or has there been simply no realization that there is a separate history of the American Jewish com-

munity which has to be synthesized from numerous fragments already in print?

There are in this country several historians of first rank in the Jewish field. But their preoccupation has been—rightly perhaps?—with the world or the European scene. Salo W. Baron has already produced six volumes of history which place him not only in the forefront of Jewish historians but close to the top among general historians. Abraham Neuman's recent study of the Jews in Spain is also a major historical work, less popular than Baron's, intended obviously for the scholar rather than the layman. And one cannot overlook the value of the shorter work by Marx and Margolis.

But these men and their less able followers have not yet turned their attention to the American scene alone. And there is great need for them to do this, because this American Jewish community is going to be the most important Jewish community in the world. By reason of the events of destruction and default in Europe, the burden of leadership falls upon us. Even a free and independent Palestine cannot achieve for the world Jewish community what this community here can do. It is in the cards for American Jews to supply the leaders, the funds, the support to continuing processes in Jewish life, to new schemes for rescue and survival, to the concretization of ideas. The task is so formidable that only a great elasticity of ideas and not some kind of formal rigidity of action will serve. And that is where American history comes in.

Without a knowledge and understanding of the forces of American and American Jewish history, there will be lacking a certain necessary element in our thinking. It is submitted that an understanding of the history of the American Jewish community in the nineteenth century would have proved of inestimable value in aiding us to get our bearings almost at once in 1933 when Hitler appeared to reverse the tides of civilization. One

would not want to convey that an individual Jew could gain any particular solace from knowing what had dissipated anti-Jewish prejudice fifty years before, but it is undeniable that that knowledge in the hands of those who presumed to lead the community in its fight against anti-Semitism might have obviated some errors in approach. Not, let it be plain, errors in approach to Hitler's anti-Semitism, but errors in approach to American Jews. There would not have been the attempt, as a friend wittily put it, to make a dogma out of a stigma.

One of the major errors is the tendency to glamorize the history of American Jews. We are familiar with apologetics and recognize their importance as a kind of argumentation. But the apologetical approach to *all* history leads to a distortion. We have the unhappy tendency to supply a Jewish Roland for every Christian Oliver.

There is a conscious urge in every people to assert its own dignity. That is undeniable and right. But the victims of anti-Semitism and the fighters against anti-Semitism have distorted this urge into a kind of written history that seeks to prove that Jews are, after all, human beings too. Here a curious conflict arises between the victims and their defenders.

The victims want the history to show that Jewish boys fought in this and that war, that Jews were farmers, pioneers, good citizens. Their defenders—the fighters against anti-Semitism—want that too, but they want it with a definite reservation. It can be best illustrated, to use a reliable cliché, by an example.

An earnest young man was writing a book about Jewish families in a certain country (not this one). He had incorporated data about a prominent family there, known to the whole world as Jewish. He said innocently that this family was very wealthy, that it owned one of the largest factories of its kind, that its product was used and known wherever civilized men went. Now these were facts,

verifiable in a dozen non-Jewish sources. But the earnest young man made a mistake. He showed his manuscript to an equally earnest young man who was not a historian; he was a fighter against anti-Semitism.

What happened was rather curious—in the view of the historian. All references to the wealth, factory, and prominence of the well-known Jewish family were struck out! Why? It was not proper, said the second earnest young man, to give readers the impression that Jews owned big factories, had big fortunes, etc.

Is this history writing or is it just bad health?

Now let us return to the victims of anti-Semitism as writers of American Jewish history. What usually happens? A well-meaning citizen becomes distressed over the rise of anti-Semitism. He hears Jews accused of all kinds of crimes and derelictions, and decides that he will write a book to show that it is not so. He will write a book to end all the lies and rumors about Jews.

Our well-meaning friend has heard, let us suppose, that the Jews have not been voting at the polls. So he gathers all the data to show that not only have Jews always voted, but that voting at the polls is part of the Judeo-Christian tradition; that Jews came to America to vote; that, to put it briefly, they have voted.

Our friend is not even an amateur historian. He happens to be a businessman whose writing experience is limited to signing letters and checks. His book appears. It is full of facts—many of them unverifiable—and homilies. It is drenched with a message. What is the result? Is his little book unnoticed, forgotten? No. It is eagerly sought, because our friend has written a book that needed to be written. It is not well written; it is inaccurate. But it stands in print and people beset by the same anxieties that inspired the book are going to buy it, read it, accept it.

What does our earnest fighter against

anti-Semitism do about this book? Does he insist that it be good history? That its every fact be checked? No, since the book does not reveal that any of these Jewish voters were wealthy factory owners nor that Jewish voters voted for Jewish candidates, he does not care. It is not much good, but it can't do any harm.

* * *

What I have just written is intended as satire of certain kinds of people familiar to many of us in recent years. I have no intention of carrying that satire over to the subject of history. That is too serious a business, too necessary a matter to trifle with. The point is simply this: that between the professional limitations of the disturbed citizen who must write a book about the Jews and the adamant views of those who are interested only in the tactics of fighting anti-Semitism we are going to get no decent approach to American Jewish history.

Where does the task lie? It rests, obviously, with the historians and there I mean to put it. It was my pleasure to discuss, quite recently, the work of the American Jewish Historical Society and I do not intend to repeat my argument here.* Suffice it to say, that I sought to assay the work of the Society over a period of fifty years and to outline the ideas advanced by its own leaders which would serve to revitalize the Society at a time when its work is greatly needed. Since the Society exists and has its own archives and is in proximity to the great library and educational resources of New York City, there is every reason to hope that it can serve as the basis for a new drive to write more and better history of the Jews in America.

One basic criticism of the American Jewish Historical Society must, however, be repeated here. The Society has not sought, for whatever reasons, to extend and popularize its activities. Instead it has

*"Writing American Jewish History," *Contemporary Jewish Record*, April, 1943.

remained, to all intents and purposes, a small group of hard-working individuals given over to the reading of papers and monographs and the publication of a series of occasional volumes of these studies. The Society has not had the benefit of direct association with the universities nor the impetus that would come from professional historians who have great interest in the work of the general historical societies.

More specifically, the Society has unfortunately remained out of touch with the people whose history its members are writing. This is not as paradoxical as it sounds, because most of us Jews in America today have fathers or grandfathers whose arrival in America and whose life here fifty to eighty years ago is the most important element of American Jewish history. The Society considered plans for going on lecture tours, of holding regional meetings, etc. For various reasons it never did, and I am inclined to think that it was a great loss. The process may have worked two ways. Audiences might have been inspired to the same degree as the lecturer was inspiring. Great treasures of personal recollections might have been supplied right on the spot. The American Jewish historian could have looked his subject right in the face.

At any rate, the Society did not popularize its work and the results are now apparent. In the case of the Society, it reflects itself in its present quiescent state. In the case of the community, it reflects itself in the number of very bad books that are turned out regularly. Such books, thank goodness, are not turned out by the hundreds; but it is bad enough when they are turned out by the tens and when that is all that one gets.

The community's lack of interest and understanding of the role of history may be reflected in another phenomenon. A survey of doctoral dissertations on Jewish subjects being written at American universities showed a very slim handful on

American Jewish history. Most Jewish dissertations related to ancient history, philology, the more classical and theological subjects. A check on those dissertations in the American Jewish field—as indicated in the lists for 1940-1941—has shown that only one of the dissertations has been completed. The others have been abandoned.

I do not know the mortality rate among doctoral dissertations, but there would seem to be something abnormal about the fact that young American Jews do not have the impulse to carry their dissertations on American Jewish subjects to completion. And I think the abnormality arises from the fact that the community itself, through its leaders, has not manifested enough interest in the importance of good American Jewish history. And by good, I mean accurate, and also well written!

* * *

Few writers of doctoral dissertations think in terms of large sales. They know better than that. There are ways to inspire thorough works such as doctoral dissertations are. (I am aware of the forbidding aura that surrounds a Ph.D. thesis, but it does not have to be; there are numerous examples which prove that a Ph.D. can write an interesting book.) But one of the ways *not* to inspire young scholars is to encourage and give wide publicity to a bad book. And that has happened too many times to be funny. No, the way to encourage American Jews to write American Jewish history is to encourage them to write American Jewish history. It is as simple as that.

The encouragement has to be funnelled, however, through several devices. First, there is a task for the reviewers in the top-flight American Jewish magazines. They must assume their job as critics and relinquish their role as mere bleaters. I am as prone to blame an unknowing or indifferent reviewer for a bad book as I am to blame the author. In one recent case, ninety-five per cent of the

reviewers "raved" about a book which, in my humble opinion, was so shot through with poor history that it was damaging where it was not worthless. A reviewer has a definite obligation to the public to be critical where he should be. This cannot be said too often in the case of reviewers for our Jewish journals, especially those with big circulations.

Secondly, our historical Society must be encouraged to continue and improve its work. The work cannot remain entirely upon the amateur and piecemeal level. It must be synthesized and planned. And if the amateurs cannot do it, they must seek the means of arranging for professionals who will. (By professionals I do not mean hacks or ghost-writers.)

There is also a definite role for Jewish publishers. They might here and now seek out the American Jews now writing dissertations and arrange some means for publishing these works. This would give definite encouragement to a young American Jew seeking a doctorate to write an essay on American Jewish history instead of having to squeeze another topic out of the history of the grain trade during the Napoleonic period.

It is also proposed that local communities turn their attention to their own history, making sure, however, that the work is placed in capable hands under proper guidance. We have seen recently what can be done with the subject of population studies, undertaken by the Conference on Jewish Relations. Cannot we hope for something as significant in the way of local histories? Such an undertaking should be centralized under, perhaps, the Conference or the Society. The Jewish Publication Society should also co-operate; its Community Series suggests a pattern. At all events, the standards must be high, the work uniform.

In such ways, as I see it, the statement of the need is brought to the community through competent and conscientious reviewers. The work is guided by those

professionally interested, and distributed by those whose business it is to make and publish Jewish books.

I am rashly assuming that the American Jewish community wants to have its own history accurately recorded, interestingly written, attractively published. I am assuming it on the basis of my own experience. If that assumption is wrong then I have misinterpreted what the community needs in the field of written history. But when I see what has been done recently by American and British historians in writing histories of England and America for British and American audiences, I feel that I am correct.

AUTUMN

By CARL GRABO

I

In the dark hours of the rain
The wind rose, bringing in its train
Autumn like a racing hound,
Taking the beech wood at a bound,
Maddened to be free again.

Southward winging soon will go
All the birds but owl and crow;
Hunters of the North will spear
Leaping salmon, chase the deer,
And build their tepees for the snow.

II

The wind runs baying in the wood
Among the thinning trees,
The brisk bright wind of Autumn,
Born in the northern seas.

Whence cold and snow descending
Too soon all life enchains,
Driving to hidden tap-root
What soul or sap remains.

There in its fibrous channels,
Deep in protective dark,
Glows faint but unextinguished
The renovating spark.

In Memoriam: Nathan Shaviro

By WILLIAM ZUKERMAN

LAST JULY 14 there died in New York at the age of 51, a man whose spiritual home was Chicago, whose roots were deeply planted in the small, interesting group of Russian-Jewish immigrants who had come over to Chicago in the early years of this century when the Kishinev massacre and the slaughter of Red Sunday ripped open the Russian revolutionary movement and brought it up from the underground to the surface. Nathan Shaviro, the deceased, was too young at the time that he emigrated to this country to have taken an active part in that movement, but the spirit of profound idealism which permeated the Revolution and affected the entire Russian-Jewish youth of that period, did not escape him. In fact, he turned out to be one of the best and noblest representatives of that spirit transplanted into this country.

The idealism of that period was expressed in most of the Russian Jewish immigrants then in a thirst for knowledge and search for education which had no parallel among any immigrants in this country. The night schools, preparatory schools, and later the colleges were packed with eager young men and women who feverishly sought the education which they had missed in their old homes and which to them meant more than a diploma, or a degree. But while that search soon ended for the majority of these people with an ordinary rush for professional careers leading to better positions in life, to greater comforts, and to higher social and economic standards, in the case of Nathan Shaviro, it had remained in its pristine, pure, idealistic form throughout his life.

Nathan was by nature a student, scholar, and philosopher, of those who from Socrates and the great Hebrew Rabbis downward, loved knowledge for its own sake and made the study of the "Torah" an aim in itself entirely sufficient to fill their lives. Endowed with a powerful intellect, with a rare assiduity and capacity for work, he soon became the best educated man in his own circle and probably also in the whole of academic Chicago of that time. Although he always had to work while he studied, he nevertheless managed to become one of the most outstanding students of the University of Chicago, a favorite pupil of the late professors Mead, Tufts, and Moore, a bright hope of the then new pragmatic school of philosophy started by that University. The man was throughout his life a living encyclopaedia of knowledge, not of mechanical facts and information, but of true living knowledge which he loved to share freely and generously with anyone who asked for it.

Yet Shaviro was not the typical intellectual detached from life and from the world. No one was more vitally alive than he was, not only to social problems of the day, but to the deeper process of living itself. He seemed to be the incarnation of perennial youth and of love of life. None of Nathan's friends could ever think of him as of an old man, even when he lay in agony on his sick bed before his death. There was a simplicity about the man that was childishly transparent, and the shy boyish twinkle in his eye was the most endearing of his features. No one could doubt Shaviro's intellectual honesty, the depth of his sincerity and

his almost fierce devotion to the truth as he saw it. He held strong views on social questions, on Labor, on Soviet Russia, on Fascism; he shared the prejudices of his time and social group. But above all that, there always rose his great humanity, bigger, wider, and deeper than all parties, groups, and divisions between man and man. Shaviro was primarily a philosopher and psychologist, a seeker of the greater truth of life as expressed not in Society and social institutions, but in the individual man. Nature had showered upon him many of her best gifts apart from his fine mind. Of charming personality, modest, quiet, gentle, the man had elements of true greatness in him.

With gifts and qualities much smaller than his, other men have reached renown, riches, recognition of their fellows, high position, even fame. But not so Nathan. His was a hard life; he struggled with poverty almost all his life; he worked in inferior positions; his work was not recognized, nor appreciated; his intellectual gifts were exploited, and his modesty and gentleness taken advantage of. He worked hard and conscientiously throughout his life; he gave generously of his vast fount of knowledge, of his mind and spirit. The world accepted his gift readily, made good use of it, but forgot about him, personally. He wrote in his life a countless number of articles, speeches, programs, reports, studies, but none of them are known as his. For years he wrote editorials in one of the big New York dailies, but always anonymously; he collaborated in writing several books on economics. During the last years of his life he worked for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union and contributed much to the formation of thought and policy of that great Labor organization which is the vanguard of the progressive American Trade Union movement; but except for a few people who knew of his labor and appreciated the solidity and sincerity of everything

he did, no one has heard of his name. With all the ingredients of greatness that he possessed, Nathan Shaviro died in obscurity, unknown outside the small circle of his friends, without leaving a mark on his generation which a man of his calibre could leave. According to the standards of the world, the great promise which he gave was not fulfilled.

But the standards of the world are not always applicable to men like Shaviro. A closer analysis would show that the causes of what seemed to be the failure of the man, were inherent in his character and in a sense, were a part of his potential greatness. His idealistic devotion to knowledge for its own sake precluded him from making utilitarian use of it. He too, could have easily embarked, like so many of his Chicago friends, upon a professional career which would have given him an easier life and better position. But he deliberately eschewed any practical use that he could derive from his vast store of knowledge and followed his philosophy, psychology, and other "useless" subjects which do not advance a man on the road to success. It was his incurable idealism, not anything forced upon him from outside, that kept him in the pinched economic condition that he had been all his life. It was not inability and weakness, but strength to cling to the truth in him, even if it had imposed hardships and humiliation upon him, that made his life the drudgery that it was.

But what contributed most to his worldly failure was probably the greatest gem of his character:—his almost incredible modesty. The man literally did not know what it meant to be intellectually greedy, ambitious, to want to outstrip his fellow men, to seek personal recognition, to forge ahead of others, to push to the front, to have his name featured, to be in the limelight. His strange self-effacement was not imposed upon him by others; Nathan was anything but a submissive person. His selflessness was

natural to him; it stemmed from a source in the depth of his being which people in our strongly individualistic age found it difficult to comprehend. Shaviro was in this respect, far in advance of his time, a forerunner of the man of the future who will one day learn to sink his greed for private property even in the artistic and intellectual domains, and will be perfectly happy to work anonymously merely for the sake of his work. But that day is as yet far away and men like Shaviro are misunderstood by the eager and aggressive individualists of our time who push their way to the front with their elbows and believe that they put their own stamp upon eternity. To these people, men like Shaviro are dreamers who cannot translate their dreams into actualities; men of unfulfilled promises, and (crime of crimes), failures.

But as I was standing on a bright Summer day at a lonely open grave and, together with a mere handful of people, watched the remains of a dear friend lowered into the earth, I felt, together with the sharp pang of grief, the futility of all our differentiations between failure and success as applicable to the great

mystery which is man. Perhaps true greatness can never be expressed in terms of achievements because it is too great for expression. Perhaps the mere existence of greatness is its most adequate expression, even if it pays no dividends to a practical and utilitarian world. Was not Nathan's life and character, like any piece of true art, sufficient in itself?

There is a beautiful Jewish legend that in every generation there are "Thirty-Six Just Men," mostly poor, obscure simple folk whose chief virtue is their anonymity, for whose sake alone God preserves our evil world from utter destruction. The mere existence of these people, who do their work anonymously and conscientiously in every walk of life, saves us from the annihilation which our viciousness deserves. The small group of friends who loved Nathan Shaviro, knew at least one such "just man," and their own lives and life as a whole have been enriched by his mere living in this world; it will also continue to be enriched for them by the memory of the irresistible charm of his personality so long as they live.

Perhaps this is the essence of all true greatness and nothing else matters.

THE TORCH BEARER

By EUNICE CARTER SMITH

Heavy of foot he climbs the hill, to stand
And watch a "V" of southern flying cranes—
For one brief moment soar with them to planes
Beyond all turbulence, release the band
Of self . . . all such brief moments must expand
His spirit, give fresh strength for lifting chains
Of earth, and fill anew his weary veins
With hope to fan the free-man's fiery brand.

He knows full well that he must hold aloft
The flame and keep it bright, or fade with it
Into a poverty of soul more lean
Than his eroded fields, fields where sand, soft
And shifting, challenges each sprout, each whit
That dares, in spite of hunger, to be green.

Hassidic Music

By LEON STEIN

MUSIC HAS ALWAYS existed as a function of religion and ritual, but in few, if any religions, was it significant and important in precisely the same way and to the same degree as in Hassidism. Despite an apparent provinciality in nature and origin, Hassidic music has a marked measure of universality, which, though recognizably associated with a definite *milieu*, yet transcends the limitations of time and place.

A Hassid is a "rhapsodic pietist." The Hassidim of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the third group in Jewish history to bear the name, were disciples and followers of Israel of Miedzybecz, called the Baal Shem Tov, or Besht. In the comparatively brief span of a century and a half, the movement was founded, grew until it included almost one-fourth of extant Jewry, and then declined; today, the number of its adherents is negligible. The place and significance of music in Hassidism can best be understood if it is considered in relation to the tenets of the Cabbala. For it is the latter that forms the subsoil in which were rooted, and which nourished, the creed and doctrine of the Baal Shem.

According to the Cabbala, all extant things, material and immaterial, are emanations, radiations from the supreme Godhead, En-Sof. These emanations, termed Sefiroths, are the tangible connections between the upper and lower spheres. The separation between spirit and matter, Heaven and earth, is an illusory discreteness that exists only as a misconception of the true nature of things. It is actually possible for the spirit

in its highest stage of exaltation to throw off its earthly vestments and merge with the transcendent Sefiroth. It is this exaltation, this ecstasy, that Hassidim sought to achieve by means of music and prayer.

The purified or holy soul, as a privileged entity of the higher world, could even exert some influence on En-Sof. As Graetz has written, "By virtue of its moral and religious conduct, the soul can increase or diminish the flow of grace from the Deity through the channel of intermediary beings, its good actions causing an uninterrupted flow, and its evil conduct occasioning its discontinuance. For this reason the wisdom and religious conduct of the righteous were to be considered sureties for the Day of Grace." Here, then, we have the concrete basis of Tzadikism, a most important aspect of Hassidism and its music. For the Tzadik was to become directly, or indirectly, responsible for the creation of most, if not all, Hassidic tunes.

But Cabbala neither reached nor affected great numbers, changing their beliefs, their attitudes, their behavior, their concept of life. That was reserved for the Baal Shem Tov and his followers.

Israel ben Eliezer, the founder of Hassidism, was born about 1700 in the then Polish province of Kamenetz-Podolsk. As a youth he was an assiduous student of Cabbala. In later manhood he spent some seven years in seclusion and meditation in the Carpathian Mountains. There, in the thickly wooded forests, midst the high peaks capped by an eternal snowy whiteness, this mystic sought and found his destiny—he must reveal himself as a

Baal Shem Tov, a wonder worker by means of invocations in the name of God.

The thaumaturgic tradition was strong and deeply inbred in the communities of Galicia and Podolia. And as tales of the new miracle worker spread, adherents flocked from all walks of life, and from all sections of Eastern Europe. Captivating both the reason and the emotion of his disciples, the new leader inspired as well as instructed. From about 1745 until his death in 1760 the Baal Shem resided in Miedzybucz, Poland, and here was established the center of the new Hassidism.

According to the teachings of the Baal Shem, the Tzadik was to be considered as the direct intermediary between man and his Creator. The Cabbalistic belief that "The righteous man is the foundation of the world" led directly to the cult of Tzadikism, the veneration or actual worship of the spiritual leader. How ingrained was the belief in the powers of the Tzadik is revealed by the text of the folk-song, "Had I the Treasures of a King." The mother, rocking her child to sleep, prays that he become a learned, holy man. His holiness will rescue his father from "Gehennem," and when her soul leaves its body, the portals of Heaven itself will open: "Lozt arein dem Tzadik's mutter."

Each Tzadik had his particular circle, a "court" as it were. His adherents owed him these allegiances:

1. to draw nigh and to enjoy the sight of their spiritual leader;
2. to make pilgrimages to him at certain times;
3. to bring him gifts as a token of reverence and as a means of redemption.

The pilgrimages were generally made during Shavouth, Passover, and the High Holidays. On these occasions, the Hassidim feasted and fraternized with their spiritual leader. The latter made his appearance clad in white satin, the color white signifying grace in the Cabbala. Besides these holiday festivals, weekly

communions were held each Friday by the Tzadik and his "court." At the festivals and communions, new melodies were improvised, composed, and presented; these were memorized by the adherents, and carried back to their respective communities.

Among the more notable successors of the Baal Shem were Ber of Meseritsch (1710-1772); Levi Yitzchok of Berditchev (1740-1810); Shneur Zalman of Ladi (1747-1813); and Nachman of Bratzlav (1772-1811).

The reason for the widespread acceptance of Hassidism by millions of Jews may be found in its personal and emotional appeal, and in the release it offered from the economic and spiritual tragedy of their lives. For so many long weary centuries had they been following the dictum of Hosea: "Rejoice not, oh Israel."

And now this new creed had arisen. It transfigured their daily lives, elevating rather than depressing; it offered not sorrow but joy, not a detached ritual but a more individualized worship; it used, on occasion the vernacular, the language of every day, Yiddish; it demanded not intellect but emotion. And it offered its followers Heaven—not only after death, but in the present—Heaven through the intercession of the Tzadik, Heaven through the elevation of the spirit in direct and feelingful prayer. It brought God into their hovels and lighted the dark corners of their misery. It was no cure for the many ills that beset the people, nor could it promise liberation from the bonds of constrained and oppressed them. But it was a palliative that, for a time, softened the blows of adversity and took the sting from the lash of injustice and inhumanity. It took from the ignorant the stigma of inferiority, and raised him in his own eyes to the level of the most learned, as long as he could feel the true spirit of worship in his heart. Where there had been tears, sorrow, and grief, there was now song, dance, joy—*hithlavuth*. "With His glory the earth is

full. . . . There is no place where He may not be found."

The importance of music in Hassidism may be gauged by this fact: the ultimate object of prayer was to achieve that emotional ecstasy wherein the soul might soar to the heights to merge with the spirit of the Divine. And vocal music was found to be the best means for achieving that ecstasy. Hassidic song was not used for worship prayer, but to prepare and inspire, to elevate the soul. In a way, it may be termed the religious folk song of European Jewry. But unlike the secular folk song, it was masculine in character and performance. Sung by the men, it was masculine, too, in rhythm, feeling, and text.

In the writings of Hassidic Tzadikim, there are frequent references to the function and power of song. "Music," Nachman of Bratzlav writes "originates from the prophetic spirit, and has the power to elevate one to prophetic inspiration. Impurity knows no song because it knows no joy; for it is the source of all melancholy. . . . Every science, every religion, every kind of knowledge, even atheism, has its particular song. The loftier the religion or science, the more exalted its music." Here we find the musical counterpart of the Hassidic belief that every extant thing has its own spirit; for having its own spirit it must have its own song. It is this thought which forms the basis for the penetrating story of Peretz, "The Transmigration of a Song" (*Der Gilgul fun a Nigun*). The story concerns a melody which is successively transformed by the spirit of the individuals who adopted, and adapted, the tune for varying purposes.

We have noted the Cabbalistic belief that prayer can move even the angels. The musical analogue of this belief is stated by one sage who declared "In the high spheres, there exist temples that can be opened through song only."

Idelsohn has well paraphrased the musical creed of Hassidism: "Song is the

soul of the universe. The realm of Heaven sings; the Throne of God breathes music; even the tetragrammaton *Yahve* is composed of four musical notes."

In theory, only the Tzadik had access to the heavenly source of song. Actually, in the event the Tzadik had no creative ability, an official "court singer" improvised or created the melodies which were utilized. Each Tzadik attempted to develop and crystallize an individual style or *melos*, independent of that of the other Tzadikim. Some, like Rabbi Mendel of Kotzk, deliberately sought to avoid the material of the past. On the other hand, Rabbi Jacob Katz (d. 1782) recommended the use of traditional songs for the high holidays. Others, like "Leib Sarah's" (1730-1791) considered it not inappropriate, and perhaps even a duty, to adapt secular tunes for religious purposes, altering the text to conform to some religious sentiment. An example of such adaptation is found in the song "Shechina, Schechina, wie weit bist du," a variant of a shepherd's love song "Ros, ros, wie weit bist du," heard by the Rabbi one day in the course of a stroll. (This procedure of utilizing secular songs for religious purposes is one which was followed by Protestant and Catholic churchmen in late medieval times, and which is followed even today by some churches.)

How was a Nigun created? We must imagine a Friday evening assembly at the home of some Tzadik. The followers are gathered around the table, and after a repast, there is a discourse by the Tzadik on some aspect of the Torah or the Cabbala, couched in semi-mystic phrases, full of symbolic imagery. Then a pause, and all are silent. Quietly at first, then more loudly, the Tzadik begins to intone a chant. It is taken up, repeated again and again, and a new Nigun is born. The mood and tempo may very well have been determined by the text and spirit of the preceding discourse. Or again, this time without their leader, a group of Hassidim are together. They

vie with each other in telling of the wonders of the miracle-workers. A spirit of enthusiasm, of ecstasy grows, and as one begins a wordless chant, another supports or continues the song.

The songs might be in Hebrew, Yiddish, a combination of Hebrew and Yiddish, or they might be wordless chants, sung to some syllable, such as "la," or "chirrim-bim-bom." As examples of songs with Hebrew text, there may be noted "Am Yisroel Chay," "V'taher Libeynu," and "Hovoh Nogiloh." Concerning the use of Yiddish, Reb Nachman had written, "Seclusion is the highest stage in which man can attain divine inspiration, where he can pour out his heart to his God in a free and intimate way, and in the language familiar to him—in his native tongue. In our country, this is Yiddish, for Hebrew is little known to the average man, and consequently it is difficult for him to express himself in it fluently. Therefore, whenever Hebrew is used as a medium of prayer, the ears do not hear what the mouth utters." Nevertheless, much of the writings and, as we have already seen, many of the songs utilized the Hebrew language. Among songs in Yiddish may be noted "Sha Shtil," and "Der Rebbe Elimelech."

Combining Yiddish and Hebrew are such examples as "Gott Muz Men Dienen," and "Ribono Schel Olom" (A Dudele). The latter is the creation of Levi Yitzchok of Berdichev. Its text is a presentation of two essential Hassidic concepts: the omnipresence of God, and the direct proximity of the believer and the Almighty. The word "Dudele" ordinarily refers to a tune played on the "Dudelsach"—a bag-pipe. In this case, the title is a play on the word "du," thou. Containing, as it does, the essence of Hassidism, it is pertinent and interesting to reproduce the text of this remarkable song:

Oh, Lord of the Universe
I will sing Thee a song.
Where canst Thou be found,

And where canst Thou not be found?
Where I pass—there Thou art.
Where I remain—there, too Thou art.
Thou, Thou, and only Thou.
Doth it go well—'tis thanks to Thee.
Doth it go ill—ah, 'tis also thanks to Thee.

Thou art, Thou hast been, and Thou wilt be.
Thou didst reign, Thou reignest, and Thou wilt reign.
Thine is Heaven, Thine is Earth.
Thou fillest the high regions,
And Thou fillest the low regions.
Wheresoever I turn,
Thou, oh Thou, art there.

Many, many Hassidic songs, however, are without any words. Schneor Zalman has best stated the reason for this, writing that "the song of the Souls, at the time they are swaying in the high regions to drink from the well of the Almighty King, consists of tones only, dismantled of words." A text, too, would bring the vocal melody to a conclusion; the absence of a text allowed repetition or improvised extensions that made for a feeling of "endlessness." As this writer has pointed out in another article, it is interesting to note that the "alleluia" of the ancient Synagogue, later taken over by the Church, was also sung without words. Concerning this practice, St. Augustine wrote: "One who is jubilant does not utter words, but sounds of joy without words. The voice of the soul overflowing with joy tries as much as possible to express its emotion—a joy so excessive that one cannot find words for it. . . . And for whom has this 'jubilatio' more propriety than for God the Unspeakable? Language is too poor to speak of God." Among the more familiar nigunim are "Reb Mayer's Dance," "Nigun Bialik," "M'lavoh Malkoh," "Simchas Torah," and "Kotz'ker Nigun."

Quite early in the course of its development, Hassidism divided into two groups. The first adhered more or less closely to the teachings of "Besht." The second was founded by Shneur Zalman (in 1796), and was called "Chabad" Has-

sidism. The word "Chabad" is a telescoping of *Chochma* (Wisdom), *Bina* (Insight), and *Daath* (Knowledge). These attributes were supposed to be characteristics of the divine spirit, which was in conflict with the animal spirit in man. Most probably without ever having heard their names, Shneur Zalman developed a theory of sense and essence, illusion and reality, akin to the tenets of Berkeley and Kant. Chabad Hassidism agreed that the ultimate aim of study and prayer was the exaltation of the spirit; it was Shneur Zalman's contention, however, that this exaltation could not be attained immediately, but must be reached by degrees, by passage through intermediate stages as the divine characteristics gradually overcome the baser ones. There is here a definite analogy with the Cabbalistic theory of the four stages of elevation and the seven stages of ecstasy. In the Chabad system, the progressive stages of exaltation and aspiration were precisely defined and outlined. Before achieving communion with the Almighty, there were six stages through which the spirit must pass:

1. Histopchuth Hannefesh—Outpouring of the soul and casting off the shell of the evil spirit (klippah).
2. Hithoreruth—Spiritual awakening.
3. Hithpaaluth—Meditation and self-communion.
4. Dveikut—Communion with the Almighty.
5. Hithlahavuth—Flaming ecstasy.
6. Hithpashtuth Hagashmiyuth—The highest ascension of the disembodied spirit.

It is significant that the last two stages are also called "Rikud," dance. Here again, after the lapse of almost two thousand years, the dance assumes a religious function which it had not had since the destruction of the Temple. The fact that the chants pass into and are used in conjunction with dance, becomes important

and significant, as we shall see, when these melodies are used for instrumental purposes, or for incorporation in larger works. The dance began first in a restrained ecstasy rather than in Dionysian revelry; short steps, certain movements of prayerful upraised hands, and uplifted faces were characteristic—the steps and movements gaining in intensity as the chanted music became faster. The formation of the dancers would vary, depending on the number. Larger groups would form in circles, sometimes intertwining their arms. Just as Hassidic song has had a pronounced influence on new Palestinian music, so these dances have also affected the new Palestinian folk-dances. While notation of Hassidic music goes back more than a century, the only instance known to the writer of "notation" (that is, diagram presentation) of the dances, is the booklet, "Hassidic Dances" recently issued by the Chicago dancer, Nathan Vizonsky.

Not all the Chabad tunes attempted to incorporate the whole range of expression indicated above. Many songs attempt to project merely one or two of the degrees of elevation. A very well known tune called "Dem Rebbin's Nigun" is attributed to Shneur Zalman himself; it covers the whole range of ascension according to the Chabad scheme. Another example, much more extended, without words, and composer unknown, is a truly remarkable creation from the standpoint of length, complexity, and melodic interest. On occasions, portions of it have been disassociated and used as separate nigunim, as one might chip pieces off a huge gem for the sake of utility. The last two periods, for example, have been used as the melody for the Palestinian song, "Al Haselah."

Without going into too much technical detail, it will be interesting to consider the melodic, rhythmic, and structural aspects of the melodies. We find the music of the Hassidim was derived from Ancient Synagogue modes, Talmudic chants, oriental

elements, Ukrainian and Slavic folk song and various dances. But all of these were reintegrated in, and by, the spirit of Hassidism. Even when material is borrowed, we notice a kind of unconscious selection; there is very rarely the use of the four-square rhythms and melodic formulae of Germanic music which sometimes was adopted in the Ashkenazic folk-song, and which is opposed in feeling to the Hassidic spirit. Although many of the Tzadikim consciously attempted to avoid "old" material, to create and utilize only new melodies, it was inevitable that they should think, to some extent, in terms of the past musical tradition. But even in these instances there is a new perspective, particularly because of the interesting disposition of the rhythms. Though traces of traditional chants may be noted, more often the derivation is not in the use of specific tunes, but in the utilization of various traditional Biblical and prayer modes. For example, "A Dudele" and "Am Yisroel Chay" utilize the "Ahavoh Rabboh" mode (similar to the harmonic minor scale beginning and ending on the dominant). Reb Dovidl's song "Bene Hecholoh Dichsifin" is in the Aeolian mode (the minor with lowered seventh); this is the mode used in the reading of Prophets and Lamentations. A particularly interesting example is one chant which begins in major; in the middle portion it modulates to the Mexolydian mode (called by Idelsohn the Adonoy-Moloch mode). It is this middle portion which was vulgarized and debased in the song of some years back, "Lena is the Queen of Palestina." There are songs in the usual minor, and some few in major.

The tempo varies from slow to fast, depending on the mood and gradation of mood. Those in recitative character are naturally slower in tempo, and quite free in rhythm; so free, in fact, that it is neither possible, nor desirable, to use bar lines in their notation. The dance-nigunim are quick in tempo, and quite symmetrical in rhythmic pattern. Slower,

recitative songs were most frequently intoned by a single singer; the more rapid, regular tunes were sung by the group. Most common is duple-time, that is, 2/4 or 4/4. Three-four time is occasionally found in slow compositions, but is unusual in fast tempi. The instinct of the Hassidim in avoiding this particularly Germanic rhythm with its suggestion of the waltz was positive and sure. One example even contains alternations of 3/4 and 5/4 time, a characteristic Slavic feature.

It is in the rhythm that we find the most interesting aspect of Hassidic music. We are struck first by the syncopation. Syncopation in fast tempo was simply nonexistent in either sacred or secular song of pre-Hassidic Jewry. The reason is obvious. This particular rhythm (most familiar to us as ragtime) is impossible in folk-melodies, lyric, sad, plaintive, despondent, or nostalgic as were the majority of pre-Hassidic Jewish songs. (Syncopation in such songs may be found in the accompaniment, as in Tchaikowsky's "Only the Lonely Heart," or Massenet's "Elegy," but rarely in the principal melodic line.)

The optimism, the positive character of Hassidism, could quite naturally, even inevitably, use such rhythmic patterns. But syncopation frequently has a musical connotation of flippancy; that the Hassidim could use such rhythm for religious and devout melodies which in no way lost either their dignity or their prayerful quality, which acquired impulse and movement, meaningful animation with no loss of seriousness—that is indeed remarkable. This syncopation is found in almost every other fast Hassidic tune and was taken over quite naturally by the newer Palestinian folk-songs and Horas. Besides the syncopation, there are interesting cross rhythms such as one finds in "A Dudele," following the recitative portion. Ordinarily, in a 4/4 measure, we expect the accent on one and three (we would say ONE two THREE four. Here,

however, the rhythm is distributed so that it becomes one TWO three FOUR). Finally, association with dance was responsible for recurrence of melodic and rhythmic patterns in a manner that is not often found in purely vocal or recitative melody.

Excluding the slow "meditative" songs, and recitative melodies, the majority of Hassidic tunes are quite symmetrical in structure, generally consisting of four measure phrases and eight measure periods. These are combined in patterns which may be designated AB, ABA, ABC, ABCA; each letter representing a melodic unit of four or eight measures. The length of the Nigunim averages between twenty-four and thirty-two measures, some being as short as eight, others as long as seventy measures.

As in all folk-songs, there is a certain limitation in the scope of expression. Hassidic nigunim are religious folk-songs, and it may seem their scope is that much more limited. However, if we consider the variety of mood and emotion, we will see that the limitation is not as marked as might seem probable. Melancholy, poignancy, mysticism, meditation, abandon and ecstasy—surely this is not a narrow range of expression.

Cantors (Chazzanim) of Eastern and Central Europe reared in the atmosphere were much influenced by Hassidic song. Some became attached to the courts of the Tzadikim, functioning not only as singers, but as composers. Among the more famous of these were Jacob Samuel Margowsky, ("Zeidel Rovner") Joshua Finesinger, Leizer of Lodz, and Israel Jaffa.

There are a number of important reasons for the survival of Hassidic song despite the decline of the movement. First, and foremost, there is the inherent vitality of the music. Many of the songs possess a universality of feeling frequently lacking in other folk-music. Unlike much purely functional music, Hassidic music is not dependent on emotional

associations for its effect. A patriotic song, though it may be inferior music, moves us because we hear it not only as a succession of notes, but as something associated with our flag, our country, our holidays, our sons or brothers in uniform. On the other hand, when we hear the patriotic songs of another country, songs which may be musically no worse than our own, we may wonder to ourselves how people could be moved or carried away by anything so commonplace. Having no associations, we are affected by only the music. Had the vitality and emotional content of Hassidic song been dependent on association with Hassidic practice, it would have perished with the movement. But in the music we have, as it were, the distilled and unadulterated essence of Hassidism: its mysticism, its ecstasy, its search for the eternal, its yearning for the ineffable, those qualities which, in a way, are ever present and indestructible, finding an outlet now in this form, now in that—these are the qualities that transfigure the music, and give it not a local or provincial accent, but the inflection of emotion universal in effect. It is because of this self-sufficient character that the music survives.

In addition, Hassidic song is more adaptable for arrangement and utilization than any other portion of Jewish music, particularly today. The rhythmic conception and construction make it much easier to use the songs for instrumental compositions and arrangements than the predominantly vocal works which constitute the bulk of Jewish music. Though the songs were conceived as unaccompanied melodies, the harmonic implications are clear without being trite. The lack of harmonic and melodic triteness is the result of an independence of the German influence which dominated Europe for the past two centuries. During that period the rhythmic, melodic, and harmonic formulae of Germanic composers from Haydn to Strauss were models and influences for almost all Occidental

composers. The story of music of the last forty years is in part the attempt of composers to break away from the German Romantic tradition; composers are aware of the greatness and importance of the works created in this tradition, but they feel that in this day, it is an outmoded and inconsistent mode of expression.

Just what happens when indigenous material is cut to the German measure is shown, unconsciously, but with wonderful clarity, in the great compilation "Baal Tefillah," by Abraham Baer, published in 1877. Among the fourteen hundred compositions, are a large number which he presents in two versions, the German and the East European. (Baer termed the latter "Polish," but, obviously, the East European countries are included.) What is of amazing interest is the manner in which distinctively Jewish modal, harmonic, and rhythmic features are reduced to the trite and commonplace, four-squared, rugged formulas of Teutonic music.

This, of course, merely emphasizes the degree to which East European folk-music was different from the German; it also is an interesting psychological indication of a condition wherein a certain musical tradition had become so strong, so much almost a separate language, that "foreign" material had to be literally "translated" in order to be found comprehensible. Being independent of the Teutonic tradition, Hassidic material allows itself to be used quite freely and consistently with the newer materials of contemporary music. Composers have not only adapted traditional tunes, but have even written music Hassidic in character, without actually utilizing folk material. Nothing could more clearly indicate the distinctive and living quality of this music.

Among the compositions which directly, or indirectly, owe their inspiration to Hassidic music are the following: "Baal Shem Suite" for Violin and Piano by Ernest Bloch. This is in three movements, the second of which, "Nigun" is deservedly

the most popular. The third movement, "Simchas Torah," while effective musically, is not particularly Hassidic in character; its middle section briefly uses a portion of the folk-song "Machutonim." Like many of the other Hebraic works of Bloch, it is modal, and Jewish in a certain lyric intensity, without deriving from specific traditional melodies. Engel's incidental music to "Hadibuk"; Joseph Achron's incidental music to various plays, and "Dance of the Tzadikim"; Alexander Veprik's "Dances and Songs of the Ghetto"; and various compositions of Lazare Saminsky, M. Milner, M. Gressin, Julius Chajes and Heinrich Schalit are examples of works based on specific traditional melodies, or deriving from the rhythm and character of Hassidic music. Other compositions are "Hassidic Dance for Orchestra" by M. Lavry; "Hassidim," a musical picture for Orchestra by S. Rosowsky; "Fantasy on a Hassidic Theme," for Clarinet, String Quartette and Piano, by M. Stillmann; "Meditation Hassidic" for Violincello and Piano, by J. Stutschewsky; and a large number of solo and choral arrangements. Among this writer's works are "Three Hassidic Dances" for Orchestra, the first and third of which utilize traditional themes; the second movement of "Suite Hebraic" for Orchestra; and "Introduction and Dance Hassidic" for Violin and Piano, an adaptation in variation form of "A Dudele."

Besides stimulating the creation of music by positive means, Hassidism gave rise to a number of songs by its detractors, the Mithnagdim. These songs attempt to ridicule, belittle, or caricature some aspect of Hassidism. Among this group are the songs "A Ganevoh," "Fort dos Hassidl," "Vos Vet Zein az Meshiach Vet Kumen," and "Efnt Rebbitzn." Now that the bitterness of the struggle between the two factions is of the past, these songs have lost their sarcastic edge, and are considered as part of the merely humorous repertoire of Jewish folk-song.

There was no aspect of Jewish life in

Europe that was not, to some extent, affected by Hassidism. As early as 1810, Hassidic melodies had made their way to, and were already notated in places as distant from Podolia as Amsterdam and Berlin. And as Jewish culture assumed a more concrete aspect it, too, bore the impress of Hassidism. Besides the writings of various Tzadikim, some of which have recently been reissued for their literary interest, the stories and poems of Sholem Aleichem and Peretz among others, various dramas including "The Dybuk," and

the background of song and dance in various pageants testify to the profound and lasting influence of the movement.

Because it combines a distinctive character with a universal appeal, Hassidic music serves, and will continue to serve for some time, as a deep and stimulating source of inspiration. And as long as Hassidic music lives, the best of Hassidism lives: its mystic contemplation, the joy of being, the uplifting of the spirit in prayerful ecstasy, the awareness of divinity in man.

IRON ORES

By GRANT McCOLLEY

A billion years rolled past. The parent sun
Blazed white with heat, but on the cooling earth
The clash of steam, of rock and fire, gave birth
To tidal seas, and lands where rivers run;
Lean scraggy ores, whose life had first begun
In hollows deeper than a Scottish firth,
Grew fat. The gray which marked their former dearth
Became a living red, or brown and dun.
This much great Nature built. The mounds of ore,
Now firm as rock, now loose as wind-blown sand,
But each a vault of treasure's golden store,
She left as pregnant seed throughout the land—
As seed for steel—when once the thinker's hand
Had turned the key, and opened wide the door.

*The Originality of the Bible**

By SOLOMON GOLDMAN

BIBLICAL CRITICISM is of course not the only science in which man has overreached himself or failed to achieve more certainty. Every science has to suffer from the ills to which the flesh is heir, only Biblical criticism more so. Responsible for that have been the egotism and subjectivity with which so many of the critics have come to the Bible. In the first place, every critic seems to have been bent on putting mankind under special obligation to his chosen field of investigation, for no more worthy reason than that it was his. Thus he who had made the Septuagint his specialty was convinced that its text was superior to the Masoretic. The expert on Arab culture became a pan-Arabian and announced with no little pride that he had discovered every Biblical idea in the steppes of Arabia. The Assyriologist or Egyptologist, as the case might be, ridiculed the pan-Arabian's simplicity and hailed the peoples of the Euphrates or the Nile as our first and foremost benefactors. It has rarely happened that an authority on the civilization of one people has been willing to yield the palm to that of another. Each one was zealous for his vested interest and strove in its behalf with more fervor than wisdom.

In the second place the critics assumed that the ways of reasoning and the modes of expression of the Jews in ancient Jerusalem on Tekoa differed in no wise from those of the professors of Oxford and Heidelberg. They had not the least doubt that the men of three thousand

years ago articulated their thoughts and feelings as if it were to order, in a manner to suit our modern habits and bent of mind. And as if that were not enough they mistook every Biblical author for an Aristotle, Spinoza, or Kant and searched for faultless coherence in his thinking and mathematical precision in his utterances. They applied to a chapter of Isaiah the canons of logic and when, in the light of them, they discovered any inconsistency or a lack of congruity in its several parts they undertook to rearrange it, and provide its verses with a sequence more to their liking. They failed or refused to realize that prophecies, psalms and, for that matter, all of the Biblical compositions were literature, art, music, which means that their creators were highly subjective men, who, creating under the spell of inspiration or great stress, followed the logic of their emotions and not of pure reason.

Of a renowned professor, a proud representative of "sober" rationalism who had published a ponderous work on the Garden of Eden, Goethe once wrote as follows: "Had the author known how to approach the writings of Moses with reverence, if only as one of the oldest monuments of the human spirit, as fragments of an Egyptian pyramid, he would not have drowned these representations of the poetic art of the orient in a flow of homilies, he would not have torn every limb from this torso and hacked it to pieces in order to find in it the conceptual concoctions of a German University of the Eighteenth Century. It is disgusting to see a scribbler presume to read the mind and purpose of Eternal Wisdom in

*This article consists of excerpts from a book on the Bible which will be published shortly.

the story of the Garden or the figure of the serpent."

In the third place, the main interest of a goodly number of critics has been to establish the inferiority of the Hebrew Bible to the ethics and religion of the Gospels and Epistles. For these critics the Jewish writings were not a literature reflecting the history and experience of a people but a testament whose sole purpose it was to herald the coming of the Christ and whose hidden meaning was the foreshadowing of Christianity. What this *apriori* postulate has done to Biblical research is too well known to make further discussion of it necessary. The Bible, in brief, was made to take on two aspects, one that revealed the primitiveness and limitations of the Jewish religion and the other that hinted of the glory and perfection of the Christianity that was to come.

Some critics, on the other hand, employed their researches to disprove and extirpate the dogma of revelation. To achieve that, they realized that it was first necessary to undermine belief in the authenticity of the Mosaic tradition. That is why its mutilation began centuries before anyone thought of applying the tools of torture to the New Testament. By showing that the whole content of the Judeo-Christian tradition was in fact Babylonian or Egyptian and by centuries or millennia older than the Pentateuch, some modern scholars hoped to discredit the story of revelation. For indeed it would have constituted no little reflection on the Divine economy to have had to impart to Israel through signs and wonders truths that Babylonian and Egyptian children had for generations used as the subject matter of their exercises in rhetoric.

Archeologists, Delitzsch confessed, had their own reasons for stressing the importance of the pre-Hebrew civilizations. "Now that the pyramids," he wrote, "have opened their depths and the Assyrian palaces their portals, the people

of Israel with its literature appears as only the youngest member of a venerable and holy group of nations." The Biblical stories have been "brought to light from the darkness of Babylonian treasure heaps in the much purer and more primitive form than they exist in the Bible." Revelation therefore is obviously a false "catchword." Justice, equity, righteousness, and law were already a passion with Hammurabi and monotheism itself had slumbered in the debris of the old Babylonian civilization for centuries before the Israelites had even dreamt of the idea. There were three "precious" little clay tablets in the British museum which Delitzsch had examined with exceeding diligence and with unusual fervor. These were old tablets, dating back to the same Hammurabi, and on them the Prussian professor deciphered the glorious words *ia-ah-ve-ilu ia-hu-um-ilu* and which he explained to mean JHWH is God, JHWH, the Abiding One, the Permanent One. Under the circumstances, one could not help recognize the sun-god of Sippar enthroned in his Holy of Holies as the Universal God. As a matter of fact, Delitzsch had discovered that this magnificent god had provided his devotees with an underworld "one degree pleasanter than that of the Old Testament," and that by contrast with him the Biblical god savored of the ugly, ignoble, and grotesque. Who then could now believe in the old fable about the latter's performance on Mount Sinai?

Professor Breasted, with less brutality and with far more candor but with the same purpose in mind, wrote: "Like most lads among my boyhood associates, I learned the Ten Commandments. I was taught to reverence them because I was assured that they came down from the skies into the hands of Moses. . . . In later years when I was much older, I began to be troubled by the fact that a code of morals which did not forbid lying seemed imperfect; but it was a long time before I raised the interesting question:

How has my own realization of this imperfection arisen? Where did I, myself, get the moral yardstick by which I discovered this shortcoming in the Decalogue? When that experience began, it was a dark day for my inherited respect for the theological dogma of 'revelation.' I had more disquieting experience before me, when as a young orientalist I found that the Egyptians had possessed a standard of morals far superior to that of the Decalogue over a thousand years before the Decalogue was written." In his later years, Breasted concluded that "the higher life of our modern Western world" and its whole ethical outlook were linked up to a literature that had attained a high moral level "many centuries before the beginning of what the old theologians called the 'age of revelation.'" For our immediate purpose, it is a matter of little import whether Delitzsch and Breasted were right or wrong, whether revelation is true or nothing more than a "catch-word." What we desired to point out was that men have invariably come to the literature of the Jewish people with preconceived notions and with special causes to plead.

Two more evils from which Biblical criticism has suffered and which have hampered its progress no little were the direct result of its exclusively German domination in the century between Eichhorn and Wellhausen. One has been the proclivity of so many Germans to attempt to fit everything in heaven and on earth into some kind of airtight system; the other, their deep-seated prejudice against the Jewish people. A German, the world has by now learned in blood and tears, is unhappy unless he has everything and everyone accounted for, labeled, regimented, whether it be the chickens in the yard, the children in the home, the citizens in the land, or the angels in heaven. "A German," writes an American correspondent, "cannot leave a fact alone. He has to organize and systematize it, as he organizes and systematizes everything

else; he must have a theory into which it can be fitted." And it may be added that once he proposes a theory, he will smash the head of any fact that will not submit to it.

With such a constitutional bent, the critics have come to the Hebrew Bible, and what wreck and ruin have they wrought there. Each one cut its text to his own pattern and slashed and hacked words, phrases, verses, and whole sections that proved ungovernable. It is no exaggeration to state that there is hardly a word in the Bible which some German critic did not emend or alter or erase as being a marginal gloss or editor's intrusion. An obscure passage or rare word was his golden opportunity, for the unloading of conjectures and speculations without end. *Am Anfang war die Hypothese*, the Hypothesis came first, was his declaration of faith, and there was no sacrifice of the Hebrew language or the Jewish people that he did not bring gladly to its altar. Wellhausen, in order to destroy a thousand years of Jewish history, converted women into territories, marriage into settlement, and divorce into migration. Stade, for the sake of his thesis, changed a tamerisk to an *asherah* and the Everlasting God to a local deity. Meyer, to give the Jews a sinister character and prove that they were bereft of a sense of humor, declared that the name Isaac, which was conceived in laughter and overflows with playfulness, was a euphemism for *der grimmen Blick*, the wrathful look.

As this critical nightmare continued, Biblical exegesis "degenerated into a mass of far-fetched hypotheses and haphazard theories . . . taking the whole Pentateuch as it (was) made to appear, the impression (was) left of a patchwork stuck together by stupid authors and ignorant scribes . . ." The Germans had their triumph. The acceptance of a regnant hypothesis or the devising of a new one had become the only criterion for Biblical scholarship. Unfortunately the

critics have not yet rid themselves of this baneful superstition and its ruinous consequences.

That they have not as yet done so has been due in the main to their receptivity to anti-Semitism. Someone has well said that Hegel begat Vatke, Vatke begat Wellhausen, and Wellhausen begat Delitzsch. It may now be added that Delitzsch begat Die Grosse Tauschung, Die Grosse Tauschung begat Fort mit dem Alten Testament, and that all of them together had no little share in the composition of *Mein Kampf*.

So many of the critics have been led and misled by their prejudices. In the foreground or background of their labors, there seems to have been present, consciously or otherwise, the motive to "dissipate the nimbus of the chosen people." And they have interestingly enough so often followed a pattern that left little room for doubt as to their intention. It must be more than a coincidence that Wellhausen, Delitzsch, and Breasted, for example, should have each begun by selecting a people upon whose head they placed the halo that history had for centuries bestowed upon the Jews, then exposed the latter's lack of originality and inherent baseness, and finally brought the thesis to an end with a paean to Jesus. "Hail to thee, thou hill of Babil," Delitzsch began his apostrophe to the Babylonians, "and to all thy fellows on the palm border banks of the Euphrates." Then he showed that the Jews were nothing more than hucksters, imitators, and plagiarists. They did have a few prophets and psalmists but they were completely overshadowed by a Galilean who was most likely not of Semitic, that is, of Jewish origin. It was he who "put aside the barriers which a particularistic national religion had erected between God and the world. . . . He made an end of all external legality and hypocrisy." And in a triumphant closing paragraph, Delitzsch subtly hinted whence Jesus derived his inspiration. "When we search,"

he concludes his *Babel und Bibel*, "the ancient Babylonian world and see the leading spirits of Babylon endeavoring with earnest zeal, even with fear and trembling to seek God and the truth, we can joyously welcome the fact that the Evangelist granted to the Babylonian Wise Men to be the first to offer their homage at the cradle of the Christian faith."

In his *Dawn of Conscience*, Professor Breasted did little more than substitute the Egyptians for the Babylonians. And he too was able, so amenable are the laws of Biblical criticism, to cite Scripture as proof. "It is not merely accidental coincidence," he wrote towards the end of his book, "that Hebrew history should have traced Hebrew national origins back to Egypt, a tradition of which there is an echo in the Christian belief, 'Out of Egypt have I called my son.'" It undoubtedly took much more than critical acumen on the part of Professor Breasted to find, in this simple verse from the Gospels, support for his Egyptian hypothesis.

* * *

Let us illustrate with one more example the state of mind with which some of these scholars approach the Bible. In the midst of a comparison between the *Wisdom of Amenemope* and the *Book of Proverbs*, Professor Breasted for some mysterious reason remarks abruptly that, "The subsequent history of the Hebrews would not lead us to suspect that they have been indifferent to financial power or business success." Assuming that that is so, what particular contribution does it make to our understanding of the Egyptians? Is not this the kind of half-truth that we have learned to expect in the insolent pamphlets of Jew-baiters? What place has it in a work on Egyptology from the pen of a renowned scholar? And where, may we ask, but in the writing of anti-Semites could he have found support for his observation? Was it too much to hope that the learned Breasted would

have preferred the evidence of the Bible, Apocrypha, Talmud, Midrash, Josephus, pagan historians, or the unbiased authorities in the field of commerce and finance among his own contemporaries?

Had he written his book, as he assures us, without the slightest anti-Semitic bias, he would not have carelessly lent the prestige of his great name to a falsehood which the Nazi minister of propaganda was at that very moment exerting every effort to make the world accept as unimpeachable truth. He would not or should not have forgotten that the classic writers, who were wont to repeat the stupid libels of Manetho against the Jews, never charged them with greed, commercial sharpness, or usurious enterprise.

Indeed, the none-too-friendly Tacitus testifies that Judea was covered with villages and that its inhabitants were healthy and hardy. Neither would he have let slip from his memory the statement which Josephus made, apparently without fear of contradiction, to a world that knew millions of Jews. "Ours," he wrote, "is not a maritime country; neither commerce nor the intercourse which it promotes with the outside world has any attraction for us. Our cities are built inland, remote from the sea, and we devote ourselves to the cultivation of the productive country with which we are blessed." Breasted might have had some reason to doubt the veracity of Aristes but hardly that of the philosopher, Philo, when he wrote that in his day, the men of his nation were noted particularly as graziers and stockbreeders, keepers of flocks and herds of goats and oxen and sheep and of every kind of animal in vast numbers.

As an Egyptologist, Breasted most probably scanned attentively the work of the illustrious Petrie. If he did, he must have come across, in his colleague's *History of Egypt*, a quotation from Professor Bevan to the effect that in Ptolemaic times, that is a thousand years after Jewish history had had its start, the Jews

had not yet acquired any special reputation in finance or trade. As an historian, he might have read in Clive Day's *History of Commerce* that "down to the time of the Roman empire," the Jews were a pastoral and agricultural people, and "counted for little in the world of commerce." The testimony of the Talmud may not have come to his attention and he may not have known that the most renowned Pharisees were humble workingmen, earning their bread with the sweat of their brow or that they had actually set up barriers to the extension of commerce. But is it thinkable that he could have failed to observe that the Bible was, so to speak, a farmers' product and that its heroes were not shopkeepers, merchants, or bankers, but Bedouins, shepherds, husbandmen, gardeners, woodcutters, vintagers, olive tenders, and date dressers.

But what if Professor Breasted did come across in the Book of Proverbs or elsewhere in the Bible a verse that did betray an interest in wealth or trade, was this anything so singular? Is it possible that a man of his experience and erudition was unaware that the love of gold and the itch for gain were far too universal to be identified as the characteristics of any people? Or did Professor Breasted find an aversion to "financial power or business success" among his Egyptians and Delitzsch's Babylonians?

Even if that had been the case, he should have paused before generalizing about the Jews to inquire how the matter stood among other peoples. What, for instance, do we know about the attitude of the Greeks towards "business success?" If we are to believe their own writings, they were decidedly not adverse to it. The philosopher, Bias, we read, was of the opinion that "making money" was the occupation "which gave a man most pleasure." The philosopher, Anacharsis, "defined the market as a place set apart where men may receive and overreach one another." Pindar sang: "Money,

money maketh man." Plato asserted that the Greeks had "an insatiable love of money," and that in their lawsuits, half the people were perjured. According to Aristotle, the proverb current among the ancients, "To rob even a corpse," did not exaggerate the Greek love of gain. Reports had it that Socrates lived off the interest on his money; that Diogenes had adulterated the coinage; and that Simonides refused to compose an ode in honor of a winner in a mule race when he was offered a small sum, but waxed ecstatic in praise of him when the amount was increased. No wonder that *Graeca levitas* was a byword among the Romans, although they should have been the last to cast reflection on anyone in this regard.

What was the purpose of the much hailed *pax Romana* except to procure commercial advantages for Roman businessmen and to safeguard their interests? Cicero in his *For the Manilian Law*, in which he urged the vigorous prosecution of the last Mithridatic war, acknowledged unashamedly that he was asking the Senate to defend and protect Asia because, "The property of many Roman citizens is involved. . . . The publicans, most honorable and accomplished men, have taken all their resources and wealth into that province . . . clever and industrious men . . . are either themselves now trading in Asia . . . or else have large sums invested in the province." It was some such "clever and industrious" Roman family that boasted of the largest annual income, a sum of 4,000 pounds weight of gold, in the ancient world. It was the ambition to be counted among these elite that corrupted the Roman officials in the provinces. It was to win the favor of the people that Caesar despoiled Gaul of \$70,000,000 worth of bullion. The very religion of the Romans was in the nature of a commercial relationship with the gods; their *vota publica* somewhat of a bargain; their prayers of the *do ut des* type.

If we go to the peoples whom the

Greeks and Romans styled barbarians, the situation is no whit different. The early Aryans prayed: "May we become the possessors of rich estates." The Germans, we are told, "did not use their reason in judging of public affairs but measured all by advantages themselves received," always favoring among the Romans the side that gave them most money. And, if we are to believe the author of *Beowulf*, the Anglo-Saxons do not seem to have despised the yellow metal. So many of his hero's exploits centered about gold. Even in his advanced years, the mighty Beowulf fought the Fire Dragon mainly in order to come into possession of his treasure; and on his dying-bed, he begged:

Give me to see that golden hoard,
Gaze on the store of glorious gems,
The easier then I may end my life,
Leave my lordship that long I held.

And when the treasure was brought before him the

.....burden of speech
Broke from his breast, and Beowulf
spoke,
Gazing sad at the gold before him:
'For the harvest of gold that here I
look on,
To the God of Glory I give my thanks.
To the Ruler Eternal I render praise
That ere I must go, he granted me this,
To leave my people this priceless hoard,
'Twas bought with my life.'

In the opinion of the historian, Green, King Alfred, another of England's early heroes, was pre-eminently the businessman. In more recent years, Napoleon spoke of the English as being a nation of shopkeepers, an epithet which Louis XIV had hurled at the head of the Dutch. And Wendell Philips charged that an American "would jump across hell for the sake of a silver dollar." So the story runs on. Every people, whether ancient, medieval or modern, and the Christian Church too, have been blamed for their greed and thirst for "financial power and

business success." Why then did Breasted single out the Jews for reproach if not because he was receptive to the lies and libels about them?

* * *

Was the Jewish world outlook indebted to the ancient civilizations, a creation, as it were, out of nothing? Not at all. Ideas recognize no one people or land as their own; they possess all and belong to all. Sir Thomas Browne, long ago, had this to say of the charge of plagiarism that had been made against him by some of his contemporaries:

Some conceits and expressions are common unto divers authors of different countries and ages; and that not by imitation, but coincidence, and concurrence of imagination, fancy, and invention, upon harmony and production. Divers plants have been thought to be peculiar unto some one country; yet upon better discovery, the same have been found in distant regions, and under all community of parts. Scaliger observes how an Italian poet fell upon the same verse with another; and that one who had never read Martial fell upon a verse in him. Thus it is less strange that Homer should Hebraize, and that many sentences in human authors should seem to have their originals in Scripture. In a piece of mine, published long ago, the learned annotator hath paralleled many passages with others in Montaigne's Essays; whereas, to deal clearly, when I penned that piece, I had never read these leaves in that author, and scarce any more ever since.

But aside from coincidence, there have undoubtedly always been conscious and unconscious imitation and borrowing by individuals and peoples of and from one another. Aristotle stripped his philosophic predecessors bare; Dante ransacked the Greek and Latin classics; Milton pirated every figure of speech in the Elizabethan drama. "We combine," said Shelley, "words, opinions; and in the expression of those opinions, entire phrases. Our whole style of expression is infected with the tritest plagiarism." Einstein confesses

to being the humble debtor of many master minds. "Genius borrows nobly" but it borrows. As for peoples, the most advanced among them "appear to have been (and to be) those in a position to borrow most. . . . It is not an accident that the southern coast of France developed long before the northern part of the country. From the older centers, the barbarian became familiar with the use of metals and for centuries, he continued his borrowing habits. He took over the art of writing. He based his jurisprudence on Rome. He absorbed the mathematics of the Arabs. He accepted the combination of Judaic-Neoplatonic philosophy as his religion, and finally he rediscovered the art and literature of Greece."

The Jewish people too was a borrower, and we need no more than the Bible to convince us of that. Nowhere in it is there the least suggestion that the Jews had lived in isolation or that they had been unacquainted with their neighbors and insusceptible to their ideas and ways of life. The contrary is far more correct. It is expressly recorded that they had intermingled with and copied from the Amorites, Hittites, Babylonians, Egyptians, Canaanites and many other peoples, that their ancestors had been idolaters, that their first Patriarch lived in intimacy with Amorites and Hittites, that their greatest teacher was raised by an Egyptian Princess and married a Kenite woman from whose people he had learned considerable, that their most illustrious King was a descendant of a Moabite woman, that the language they spoke was Canaanitish, and that the God they worshipped had been known to the earliest generations of men. The Bible, strange that it should have been forgotten, does not name the Jew the discoverer but the rediscoverer of montheism; it does not claim that he was the first or only law-maker but that he possessed a peculiar code.

The Biblical writers were by no means

unaware how much their people had taken of the culture of their neighbors but neither did they underestimate the extent to which they had rejected it. They were not like the classical authors, for example Herodotus, blinded to baseness and depravity by the might and splendor of Egypt or of any of the other peoples. These classical authors were, of course, only reflecting the mood of their milieu. Among the Greeks, for example, the oracle of Ammon located in the Palm Groves of Siwah, had for a long time enjoyed a great prestige. Eleans, Spartans, Athenians were wont to send embassies to the shrine to procure its oracular advice; Perseus and Heracles consulted it before they set out on their adventures; Croesus valued its opinion; Pindar composed a Hymn in honor of Ammon; Alexander the Great and all the Greeks with him took seriously its announcement that he was the son of Zeus. "The Greeks," wrote Professor Bevan, "... felt a strange awe in the presence of traditions as old as those of the Egyptians. They were accustomed to think of Egypt as a land of marvels." On the other hand, with respect to the Biblical writers, "Ye shall not do any of the abominations of the nations" or "learn along their way," may be said to have constituted a kind of refrain to all their utterances. "The religion of Israel revolted against virtually every external aspect of Egyptian Religion, including the complex and grotesque iconography, the Dominion of daily life in the Nineteenth Dynasty by magic, the materialistic absorption in preparing for a selfish existence in the hereafter." In that alone, the Jew's originality was already apparent. For as he apprehended the inadequacy and folly of a polytheistic world order and refused to compromise with it, a new light entered his eyes and he beheld more clearly than anyone else the One God in all His Glory. And thanks to this Vision, his prophets and psalmists, his poets and sages were

endowed and possessed of a loftiness of purpose and intensity of passion uniquely their own. To say the least, and those free from prejudice always have and always will recognize it, there is as much relationship between the literatures of the Babylonians, Egyptians, Hittites, Amorites and Phoenicians, and the Bible which the Hebrews have given to the world, as there is between the Cretan myths and the majesty of Homer's *Iliad*, between the Italian novelle and the ineffable beauty of Shakespeare's dramas, between the love stories of the Florentines and Dante's *Divine Comedy*.

JEPHTHA'S FABLE

By SELWYN S. SCHWARTZ

Here is the sum:

Niched fibers sharp into fire,
In the red sleep of knived
Yesterdays and todays:

Night with sensuous stars
On its breast
Cries in each leaf
The pattern of blood:

The infinite is the strongest cry
In your filament of silence,
Loud glass breaking in air
With darkness through dissolved wings.

A niagara of night vows Death
To you, a child with fable unproven,
As silent as Psalms on dead lips—
The sequence of your sleep.

Beatrice Potter Webb: 1858-1943

By IRVING H. FLAMM

WITH THE PASSING of Beatrice Webb early in May, Sidney Webb lost a rare treasure: a spouse who was both a charming companion and an invaluable team-mate in the life work which both had chosen as their vocation and avocation. Britain, too, sustained a great loss, for "the firm of Webb," as Beatrice called it, had become a respected institution, which for half a century exerted, directly and indirectly, a powerful influence on social and economic thinking within Great Britain.

To the manor born, Beatrice Potter chose in her teens a life of earnest toil in the interest of human betterment, and she tenaciously stuck to her purpose to the very end. Only a few days before her death I received a letter from her which showed that at the age of 85 she was still keen and alert, still deeply concerned with the problems of humanity. Commenting on the fact that we Americans are still behind Britain in our understanding of Russian aims, she added: "It is fortunate that your Vice-President Wallace and some of the unofficial diplomatic personal representatives of President Roosevelt—Wendell Willkie and Harriman—have expressed themselves convinced that it will only be by the full cooperation of the U.S.S.R. that we can win the peace when we have won the war."

Beatrice Potter was reared in a fine intellectual environment. Her father, a gentleman of wealth and influence, numbered among his friends many notables of the day, among them the great Herbert Spencer. Beatrice was herself influenced by Spencer. But his changing

attitude in old age—from the penetrating social scientist to the conservative philosopher—did not escape her notice. Spencer in turn must have seen promise of great intellectual talent in Beatrice. For a time he planned to appoint her as his literary executor. But he changed his mind when she told him of her intention to marry Sidney Webb. Spencer was afraid that his work would suffer, not in interpretation, but in reputation, if it was associated in the public mind with the wife of an avowed socialist.

It is fortunate for the world that age did not transform Beatrice Potter as it did Spencer. The scientific interest which started her on her career remained with her to the end. In youth, middle age and old age she remained a daring soul, an explorer of new facts, new areas, new social theories. She sought to get her information first hand whenever possible. When in her twenties she started on an investigation of working conditions in the needle trades, she obtained employment in a sweat shop, and while working there she was able to observe conditions not apparent to the ordinary investigator. From the time her first important essay was published in 1887 on *Dock Life in East London* to her last book—*The Truth About Soviet Russia*, published in 1942—she never wavered in her determination to apply the scientific approach to her craft. Her impulse, she said, came not from politics, or philanthropy, or theology, but rather "from scientific curiosity; from the desire to apply the method of observation, reasoning, and verification to the problems of poverty in the midst of riches." Her constant search was for "a

science of society" which would lead to conclusions acceptable as guides to public policy. In an article published in *The Nation* in June, 1931, she stated that one of the questions which perpetually recurred to her was whether there can be a science of social organization in the same sense that we have a science of mechanics or chemistry, enabling us to forecast what will happen and taking appropriate action to control it in the social interest.

When she married Sidney Webb in 1892, Beatrice had already acquired a considerable reputation as an industrial investigator, some of her reports having appeared in nationally prominent publications. The couple were brought together by their common interest in humanity, and during the succeeding fifty years they worked together as a well coordinated team, he contributing perhaps the greater intellect, but she the keener imagination and talent for expression. During the years they collaborated in studies on the cooperative movement, the trade union movement, local government, and many other kindred subjects. They were among the pioneer advocates of municipal ownership of public utilities, graduated income tax, steep inheritance taxes, the eight hour day, industrial democracy, national minimum standards for every citizen, and "collective bargaining," the latter being a term first used by the Webbs. When we recall that Bea Potter's paternal grandmother was of Jewish extraction, we can well understand the loss the world might have sustained if this couple had lived in Hitler's Germany.

When they were both in their seventies they went to Russia to make a study of its institutions. After some three years of extended research they wrote their monumental work, *Soviet Communism: A New Civilization*. Their report ran counter to those of the professional journalists, most of whom had less opportunity (and probably less interest) to

study the Russian scene in its entirety. More than a few of them were concerned too much with "the smell of the market" to bother with patient research and objective reports. It is these journalists who in the twenties and early thirties moulded public opinion throughout the world against Russia. To challenge the accepted popular notions about the Soviet Union in those days might have seemed like a reckless undertaking to others. But the firm of Webb never flinched for a moment. They were scientists and their job was to report with fidelity what they observed; the good as well as the bad and without equivocation or diplomatic double talk. As they stated in the preface to their report, Russia was to them "a new subject to investigate"; "a daily joint occupation in intimate companionship, to interest, to amuse and even excite us on the last stage of life's journey." What a blessing to be able to get the thrill of adventure at an age when most people resign themselves to a period of reminiscence while awaiting death.

After their report on the Soviet Union and its "planned economy" was published, the Webbs, despite their solid reputation for veracity and for methodical painstaking research, began to be assailed as "doddering fools" and misguided victims of propaganda. Time and evidence have since vindicated this great team. Today only those whose passion for consistency seems more important than the search for truth continue to besmirch them.

* * *

What can any person, especially a woman, do for the cause of humanity in one lifetime? Who knows? One's indirect influence may be far greater than the direct. Beatrice Potter, who might have been a social butterfly, may have done more to shape our world than seems apparent on the surface. We could evaluate her work better if we could record mental processes. We could then see to

what extent her help encouraged her wealthy social minded cousin, Charles Booth, to go on with his exhaustive investigation of the conditions of London's working classes; or to what extent her nephew Stafford Cripps was influenced by her; or how far her studies for various Royal Commissions influenced the British labor movement, and through it, social legislation in England; or how much her lively interest tended to stimulate Sidney Webb's great intellect and keep it glued to the tasks he set for himself during his early idealistic years. But for her push and social background, would he, too, have settled down to the tranquil life of a trusted civil servant and pass unnoticed? And then think of the Webb pets, The Fabian Society, The London School of Economic and Political Science, and *The New Statesman*. To what extent did these media influence the thinking of men like Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, Harold Laski, and other liberals of our time; and how much did they in turn influence current thinking and social trends, more particularly the present trend toward cooperation between United States, Britain, and Russia for

the building of a better ordered postwar world? Thus do trains of thought started in one brain sometimes travel around the world gaining momentum as the journey progresses.

In a foreword to her autobiography, Bernard Shaw, a lifelong friend of the Webbs, said of Beatrice that she was an attractive lady, who might have joined the social whirl and married a cabinet minister. But "hunting, shooting, dancing and adventures in the marriage market, in which she was a desirable catch, were to her a waste of time when there were so many intensely important things to be investigated." Precisely why she broke away from her pleasant setting and decided on her chosen career is not quite clear. But in that career Beatrice Webb spent a full and useful life; and in the process she probably extracted more happiness than she might have as a society lady or even as a loving mother; for, as she herself put it, to her "a million sick have always seemed naturally more worthy of self sacrificing devotion than the child sick in fever." It was the fate of Beatrice Webb to minister to ailing humanity, and she did her work well.

The Jew in Joyce's ULYSSES

By LEO SHAPIRO

EVER SINCE it was first published in book form in 1922, James Joyce's *Ulysses* has been examined and analyzed from every possible standpoint. It is remarkable, therefore, that this novel has never been examined for its Jewish motifs. For it is a Dublin Jew, Leopold Bloom, who is Joyce's hero; and the novel is, as a consequence, an epic of the Wandering Jew as typifying man, the Eternal Wanderer among Eternal Strangers.

Joyce's entire story takes place in Dublin on "Bloomsday," Thursday, June 16, 1904, from 8:45 A.M. to 2:45 A.M. the next morning. As a matter of fact, the Jew is introduced in *Ulysses* before Bloom even appears on the scene, when Mr. Deasy, the schoolmaster, explains to Stephen that Jews are ruining England by eating up her vital strength; "they are the signs of a nation's decay."

—They sinned against the light, Mr. Deasy said gravely. And you can see the darkness in their eyes. And that is why they are wanderers on the earth to this day.

At the end of the conversation Mr. Deasy lets fly a parting shot.

—I just wanted to say, he said. Ireland, they say, has the honour of being the only country which never persecuted the Jews. Do you know that? No. And do you know why? . . .

—Because she never let them in. . . .

"She never let them in"—and yet here is Mr. Leopold Bloom, the hero of Joyce's epic, a Dublin Jew. But a Jew with a difference. One must remember that Homer's hero, Odysseus, describes himself to Polyphemus as Noman (*Odyssey*,

Book IX); but he is also Everyman, for he derives universality through union with God. Hence his name: *Outis-Zeus*—Noman-Zeus. Bloom, too, is Everyman and at the same time Noman, for he is distinctively without roots.

Bloom's spiritual estrangement began when his father, Rudolph Virag, came to Dublin from Hungary, changed his last name to Bloom, became a Christian, and married Ellen Higgins, who gave birth to Leopold in 1866. Leopold was baptized three times, once in a Protestant church, once under a village pump, and finally, in a Catholic church.

Bloom has been cut off from his forefathers by these repeated baptisms, but even more by certain other happenings. In June, 1886, when Bloom was about twenty, Rudolph committed suicide through an overdose of aconite, leaving behind among other things:

An ancient hagadah book in which a pair of hornrimmed convex spectacles inserted marked the passage of thanksgiving in the ritual prayers for Pessach (Passover): a photocard of the Queen's Hotel, Ennis, proprietor, Rudolph Bloom: an envelope addressed *To my Dear Son Leopold*.

The memory of his father haunts the son incessantly. He remembers with acute sorrow the phrases of Rudolph's last letter: "Leopold . . . my dear son . . . always . . . of me . . . *das Herz . . . Gott . . . dein . . .*" It takes little to recall his father, as when Leopold sees an advertisement of a play—"Leah tonight: Mrs Bandman Palmer"—and though he has forgotten the original name of the play—Mosenthal's *Deborah* (1849), translated

widely as *Leah, the Forsaken*—he remembers poignantly his father's description of a thrilling scene in the play (Act II, Scene 14, in the German version):

I hear the voice of Nathan who left his father to die of grief and misery in my arms, who left the house of his father and left the God of his father.

Every word is so deep, Leopold.

Poor papa! Poor man!

Or when Leopold sees a typesetter distributing type, and marvels how the typesetter can read backwards:

Poor papa with his hagadah book, reading backwards with his finger to me. Pessach. Next year in Jerusalem. Dear, O dear! All that long business about that brought us out of the land of Egypt and into the house of bondage *alleluia*. *Shema Israel Adonai Eloheinu*. No, that's the other. Then the twelve brothers, Jacob's sons. And then the lamb and the cat and the dog and the stick and the water and the butcher and then the angel of death kills the butcher and he kills the ox and the dog kills the cat. Sounds a bit silly till you come to look into it well. Justice it means but it's everybody eating everyone else. That's what life is after all.

The tragic death of his father is inextricably associated with the other major tragedy of Leopold's life. Two years after his father's death, in October, 1888, Leopold married Molly, the daughter of an Irish Major stationed at Gibraltar, and of a Spanish Jewess. Bloom was twenty-two, and Molly, eighteen; in June of the next year, Millicent (Milly) was born and in December, 1893, a boy, Rudy, who died eleven days later.

The death of Rudy has in turn been the cause of many grave consequences. It has resulted, for one thing, in an incomplete sexual life for Bloom and Molly, with a subsequent incompleteness in mental intercourse. Bloom could have tried to compensate for his loss with Milly, but the similarity of the girl and her mother is suggested by their names. As Bloom puts it: "Molly. Milly. Same thing watered down."

Leopold had hoped for so much in Rudy. Rudy was to have been all that Rudolph and Leopold could not be. Rudy, Rudolph. The two haunt Leopold with the poignancy of the might-have-been. And his affairs—whether with Bridie Kelly, the little street-girl, or with Martha Clifford, or with Gerty MacDowell—these haunt him, too. They are fruitless, in the most significant sense of the word. "No son of thy loins is by thee." I am the last of my race, Leopold broods.

Almost all this has happened before today, June 16, 1904. Rudy died eleven days after he was born; it is now eleven years since his death. Joyce, always the most careful and meaningful of artists, introduces Bloom to us today in a remarkably suggestive manner. "Mr Leopold Bloom ate with relish the inner organs of beasts and fowls." This is the first sentence which mentions Bloom; then follows a list of his favorite foods—"nutty gizzards, a stuffed roast heart, liver slices fried with crustcrumbs, fried hencod's roes," above all, "grilled mutton kidneys"—all indicative of a volatile, even sensual, temperament.

But the foods suggest something more, too, though most commentators on Joyce do not seem to realize altogether the importance of this first sentence in Joyce's conception of Bloom: Bloom's rejection of at least one phase of Jewish tradition, the dietary laws. This deviation plays a very significant rôle in Bloom's moral perspective. While he walks to Dlugacz's, the porkbutcher, he thinks about Martha Clifford. At the butcher he reads an advertisement of a planter's company ("Agendath Netaim, Bleibtreststrasse 34, Berlin, W. 15"), selling land in Palestine which will grow "olives, oranges, almonds or citrons"; and he holds the page aslant to watch a girl's skirt "swinging whack by whack by whack."

I shall have more to say about this later, but the point here is that Bloom's departure from the traditions of his fathers in dietary matters takes on a

greater significance with the suggestion of adultery. The occurrence of the two deviations in the same context is not accidental. It is the purposeful recognition by Joyce, and to some extent, by Bloom, that both divergencies are part of the same configuration, that the dietary deviation is significant in itself and even more in being caused, willy-nilly, by a motive so profound that it affects Bloom's entire moral character as a Jew.

The configuration of Bloom's estrangement from the traditions of his people is connected with the traditional Jewish conception of the "Fence" which must be built about the Torah (*s'yag ha-Torah*), and of the interminable yet fairly inevitable chain which links one infringement of the Torah with another. Break any link in the chain, repudiate the dietary laws or violate the Sabbath, and there are repercussions which affect every other link in the chain. Each violation becomes easier, and—as the current phrase has it—more natural. The *s'yag ha-Torah* is suggested dramatically in the above passages and elsewhere in Joyce; and traditionally, to mention a few of many places, in the *Pirke Aboth*, or *Ethics of the Fathers*, I.1, III.20, VI.6, and the commentary in *Jebamoth* 21a on *Leviticus* 18.30.

But Bloom is alienated, too, from his non-Jewish associates. To them he is still a Jew—and an enigma. He is the "wandering Jew," "a perverted Jew," "Ahasuerus . . . Cursed by God," "L. Boom"—snubbed and jostled by all, he is (even more than Odysseus), *Outis*, Noman, a man without a name, a nobody. Finally, even the usually mild Bloom is stung to speak. I belong to a race, he cries, that is robbed, plundered, insulted, persecuted. At this very moment. A race that has given the world Mendelssohn, Marx, Spinoza, Jesus. The only result of Bloom's impassioned plea is to be pursued by a drunk, while the onlookers laugh at his misery.

It is Bloom's loneliness which has made

him so keenly aware of the double tragedy of his life that is in essence a single tragedy. Rudy, Rudolph. The man without father or son.

Bloom's spiritual son in Joyce's novel, the Telemachus who is searching for his father Odysseus, is Stephen Dedalus—Joyce, with certain literary modifications. Though Stephen has a living father, Simon—one of Molly Bloom's many suitors, by the way—Stephen, too, is estranged from his people. Stephen's search is bound up with Thomas Wolfe's statement that the deepest search in life is "man's search for a father, not merely the father of his own flesh, . . . but the image of a strength and wisdom external to his need and superior to his hunger, to which the belief and power of his own life could be united." Stephen, too, is aware of the search and feels its implications keenly, both as a young man and later, as a more matured person. His interpretation of *Hamlet* is suggestive: "The Father and the Son idea. The Son striving to be atoned with the Father." Buck Mulligan's teasing remark is also significant: "Japhet in search of a father!"

The parallels of Stephen's personal tragedies and Bloom's are striking. Bloom has a letter from his father; Stephen received a "blue French telegram" which merely said: "Mother dying come home father." The mother died; the deeper tragedy for Stephen is that he and others believe he killed his mother by refusing to grant her dying request and pray at her deathbed. Much like Bloom, he is constantly haunted by his parent. "Agenbite. Save her. Agenbite . . . Agenbite of inwit. Inwit's agenbite."

"Agenbite of inwit"—the again-biting of the inner wit, the remorse of conscience. While Stephen, the English-speaking Irish-Catholic, expresses his remorse in terms of a medieval English moral treatise, Bloom's estrangement from his forebears is expressed in the symbol, "Agendath Netaim."

Joyce has made an error here; he

means *Agudath*, not *Agendath*. The overtones of these words are so rich in the Old Testament: *Agudath*, band or company, as in II Samuel 2.25; *netaim*, planters, as in I Chronicles 4.23, Psalms 144.12, Jeremiah 31.5. But Joyce's error makes for a consonance and euphony that is artistically meaningful: *Agendath*, *Agenbite*; father, son.

Throughout the entire day, the father and son search for each other. They often come near, notably when Bloom sees Stephen and points him out to Simon Dedalus. The passage is extremely significant, for Bloom, the spiritual father, sees Stephen before "the father of his flesh" does. But they do not meet until evening; and then Bloom, the anxious father, follows Stephen and the boys to the brothel in Nighttown.

This is the climax of *Ulysses*, the Circe episode, where men are turned into beasts; part dream, part fantasy, part madness, all the suggestions and implications of the day come to full fruition here. Here Leopold finds his father and Rudolph asks:

What you making down this place? Have you no soul? (*With feeble vulture talons he feels the silent face of Bloom.*) Are you not my son Leopold, the grandson of Leopold? Are you not my dear son Leopold who left the house of his father and left the god of his fathers Abraham and Jacob?

This is of course a reminiscence of Mosenthal's *Leah*, which Rudolph had found "so deep."

Dlugacz the porkbutcher has become Moses Dlugacz, "holding in each hand an orange citron and a pork kidney," and taunting Bloom: "Bleibtreustrasse, Berlin, W, 13." The citron and the pork kidney—*Agendath Netaim*.

Much of the scene is Oriental, even Biblical in temper. Marion is "in Turkish costume." Zoe Higgins appears (Leopold's mother was named Ellen Higgins), "a young whore in a sapphire slip." Against a background of leaping gazelles and the aroma of resin, while "roses murmur of

scarlet winegrapes," "her odalisk lips lusciously smeared with salve of swinefat and rosewater," Zoe murmurs to Bloom the phrase from *Shir Ha-Shirim*: Song of Songs, 1.5: "*Schorach ani wenowwach, benoith Hierushalaim.*" "I am black but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem." The transliteration is faulty, probably because, as Dr. Eliezer Ehrmann has suggested to me, it seems to be based on a German transliteration of the Hebrew. It should be more like "*Sh'horah ani venavah b'noth Yerushalayim.*" But the exactness of the transliteration is minor compared to the point which Joyce wishes to make. Zoe, "black but comely" (though she says she is "English" and wants a "swaggerroot" some ten lines down), murmuring the lines from *Song of Songs* with "swinefat" on her lips, bites Bloom's ear gently with "goldstopped" teeth, and the roses draw apart to "disclose a sepulchre of the gold of kings on the mouldering bones." The clue is in the association of "black" and "gold." In the Targum-Aramaic version of the *Song of Songs*, as well as in various medieval commentaries, the line quoted by Zoe is interpreted as referring to the blackening of the faces of Israel because of their sin in worshipping the golden calf; Joyce may well have known and used the comparatively popular translation in Hermann Gollancz's *Translations from Hebrew and Aramaic* (1908). "For all the Sin wherewith the Face of Man/Is blackened . . .," says that curious Oriental, Fitzgerald's Omar Khayyám. We have seen how Mr. Deasey applies this to the Jews: ". . . You can see the darkness in their eyes. And that is why they are wanderers on the earth to this day." The *ani* (I) of Zoe's chant refers as much to Bloom as to her.

Stephen sees his mother here, too, and overcome with "fright remorse and horror," pleads with her:

They said I killed you, mother. He offended your memory. Cancer did it, not I. Destiny.

Stephen will not give in. "*Non serviam!*" he cries, echoing Lucifer. He crashes out of the brothel, and becomes involved with an English soldier who suspects his patriotism and knocks him out to prove his suspicions. Bloom rescues his charge from the police; he stands guard over Stephen's prostrate body, murmuring sympathetically, "Well educated. Pity."

(Silent, thoughtful, alert, he stands on guard, his fingers at his lips in the attitude of secret master. Against the dark wall a figure appears slowly, a fairy boy of eleven, a changeling, kidnapped, dressed in an Eton suit with glass shoes and a little bronze helmet, holding a book in his hand. He reads from right to left inaudibly, smiling, kissing the page.)

Rudy, with Eton suit, reading "from right to left . . . , kissing the page." It is Rudy-Stephen, the son of Leopold, the son of Rudolph. Telemachus and Odysseus have found each other. Father and son are reunited.

But this is a kind of mock-heroic epic, and there is to be no Hollywood fanfare for a conclusion—far from it. And so, after the crashing climax, Bloom takes Stephen to a dingy cabman's shelter, and treats him to a roll and coffee. ". . . You ought to sample something in the shape of solid food," says Papa Bloom. He shows Stephen an old picture of Molly, "with her fleshy charms on evidence in an open fashion" (if I can't have it, let my friend enjoy it), and then brings Stephen to the Bloom *maison*.

In some ways, Leopold and Stephen are alike; for example, "Both indurated by early domestic training and an inherited tenacity of heterodox resistance professed their disbelief in many orthodox religious, national, social and ethical doctrines." But in this conversation, Bloom is distinctively and persistently the Jew. He mentions three "seekers of the pure truth": Moses, Maimonides, and Mendelssohn, concluding that "from Moses (of Egypt) to Moses (Mendelssohn) there arose none like Moses (Maimon-

ides)"—again a misquotation, for Mendelssohn does not belong in the adage. Stephen suggests Aristotle as a fourth to the list; Bloom answers that he, too, "had been a pupil of a rabbinical philosopher, name uncertain." An interesting note, this, taken from the heart of medieval Jewish legend. The "rabbinical philosopher" was believed to have been Simeon ha-Tsaddik, Simon the Just, whose influence on his pupil Aristotle is discussed, for example, in the *Seder ha-Doroth: The Order of Generations* (1.135), and elsewhere.

Bloom goes on to add other "children of a selected or rejected race": Felix Bartholdy Mendelssohn, (Bloom's transposition), Spinoza, Mendoza, Lassalle. They compare some Hebrew and Gaelic sounds. Bloom is full of Hebrew this morning, quoting glibly from *Shir ha-Shirim* and *Hatikvah*—again with faulty transliteration. Stephen sings the ballad of Little Harry Hughes who was killed by "the jew's daughter/And she all dressed in green"—apparently a modern Irish variant of the medieval ballad of "Hugh of Lincoln," and of Chaucer's Prioress' Tale. Bloom realizes the falsity of the story ("a jew's daughter, all dressed in green") and its terrible implications, and is sad. Joyce suggests with characteristic effectiveness how the sadness and disappointment ebb and flow and ebb upon Bloom's consciousness. "He wished that a tale of a deed should be told of a deed not by him should by him not be told."

Bloom offers Stephen a place for the night, perhaps longer. But Stephen does not accept, and the two part to the accompaniment of the bells of St. George, which sound to Bloom like "the double vibration of a jew's harp."

Alone, Bloom is beset by Jewish motifs, but almost always they come in a context made satiric by the accretion of modern materialism. He would like to be associated with "Agendath Netaim"—in order to accumulate "vast wealth . . .

through industrial channels" (Odysseus of many devices). He would like to be like "Rothschild, Guggenheim, Hirsch, Montefiore"—that is, wealthy, vastly wealthy. There is even a take-off on the "from Moses to Moses" phrase in the explanation of why Bloom could think of Molly's infidelity and Boylan's too-evident virility with "more abnegation than jealousy, less envy than equanimity": "From outrage (matrimony) to outrage (adultery) there arose nought but outrage (copulation) . . ."

And as he thinks of his father, his tragic death, his few but poignant belongings, Leopold is touched by something more profound, by a "sentiment of remorse" because "in immature impatience he had treated with disrespect certain beliefs and practices":

The prohibition of the use of flesh-meat and milk at one meal, the hebdomadary, symposium of incoordinately abstract, perfervidly concrete mercantile coexreligionist excompatriots: the circumcision of male infants: the supernatural character of Judaic scripture: the ineffability of the tetragrammaton: the sanctity of the sabbath.

Here, near the end of the book, is the explicit statement by Joyce of the unity of *s'yag ha-Torah*. The dietary laws are a part of the Fence of the Torah, and represent in *Ulysses* a normative symbol. Always part of a large moral context, they repeatedly give rise to the primary and most significant symbols in the novel. The very first thing we learn about Bloom is that he "ate with relish the inner organs of beasts and fowls." We first hear of Bloom's desire for Martha Clifford when he walks to the porkbutcher: he looks quickly for a white slip of paper inside the leather headband of his hat—"Plasto's high grade ha" is the truncated legend in the crown—and "Plasto" is thenceforth the symbol of the adulterous relationship which Bloom would like to consummate with Martha. At the porkbutcher, Bloom is moved momentarily by the ad of the planter's company, but prefers to fix his attention on the girl's

skirt "swinging whack by whack by whack"; "Agendath Netaim" and "Bleibtreustrasse" become thenceforth the symbols of the Jewish tradition which Bloom has rejected, just as the "whack by whack" figures later as a symbol of his sexual lust. At home, Bloom prepares his pork kidney in "sizzling butter sauce," and then learns that Molly and Boylan are going to spend the afternoon rehearsing "Là ci darem" and "Love's Old Sweet Song" (with gestures); "Là ci darem" (the lovely duet in Act I of Mozart's *Don Giovanni*) becomes the symbol of Bloom's poignant realization of Molly's adulterous dalliance with Boylan.

One may see how the symbols are fused in the best Joycean manner when Bloom is eating at Davy Byrne's, where we have pork, Kosher, Bleibtreu-Agendath, Boylan, and Molly; we shall see these symbols again in the brothel scene, during Bloom's conversation with Mrs. Breen. But the symbols are mingled perhaps most subtly in the scene of the Ormond Hotel, where we have the complete configuration: inner organs, Plasto, a furtive letter to Martha, "La la la ree . . . La ree . . . Dee" (the first seven notes of "Là ci darem"), "Crooked skirt swinging," and the sad close: "I too, last my race . . . Rudy. Soon I am old."

But let us not make an orthodox rabbi of James Joyce, for after all, he is not quite that. His orthodoxy comes from his training in the Catholic philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas; the very violence of his negation of the Thomist cosmology suggests, much as with Baudelaire, the strong positive position from which it is derived. Joyce is essentially an artist—above all, a master in the art of irony. Irony does not mean, as some have thought, a cold and impersonal contempt. There is sympathy, *Mitleid*, in *Ulysses*—for Bloom, for Gerty, for the girl giving birth to a baby, for Simon Dedalus—just as Cervantes sympathizes with Don Quixote, or Molière with his misanthrope, Alceste, or Shakespeare with Othello.

But Joyce's irony is the irony of the moderns: not so much of Cervantes or Molière, but rather of, say, Yeats or Eliot. Joyce's irony consists of the suggestion of beauty through the artistic evocation of the beautiful out of our rich, cultural past; and of the distortion of this beauty and richness by mingling it here and there with this or that ugly facet of the present. Just here or there, just this or that—this is all that is needed to debase lovely harmony into ugly discord. This is Joyce's satiric method; nor is it entirely a method of personal wilfulness. The irony is, for Joyce, part of the very nature of the artistic representation of the modern scene. This is not my private picture, Joyce seems to say. Look at the reality about you and beneath the reality, and you must see this, too.

Consider, then, how irony permeates all the symbols we have been discussing and admiring. Consider the absurdity, for instance, of Bloom's first contact with "Agendath Netaim"—at a porkbutcher, where he is trying at the same time to buy and ogle "treife." "Kosher" is a thing to tease the cat with, something to wonder about until something more interesting and tantalizing takes his fancy. To be sure, Bloom feels the gravitational pull towards his people; but his musing about dietary laws while he eats pork, about the Bible and morality while he is in the brothel, runs the gamut from tragedy to burlesque.

Actually, Bloom's pious quotations from *Hatikvah* and *Shir ha-Shirim*, and his praise of Maimonides as the greatest of the sages are sentimental. Maimonides, indeed! Curiously, it has been Stephen who has thought of Maimonides up to now; but Thomist that he is, he has thought of him both times in connection with that other illustrious precursor of St. Thomas Aquinas, Averroes. Bloom looks at Maimonides in the traditional Jewish way, even though he misquotes the traditional adage: "*Mosheh ad Mosheh . . .*" But it is lugubrious of Bloom

to cite Maimonides as *his* great sage. Bloom's whole way of life has been a rejection of the tenets of this philosopher. Contrast, if you will, "Bloomsday" and Maimonides' *Moreh Nebuchim: The Guide for the Perplexed*, say, on the dietary laws (III.35, 48), or lust (I.34, II.36, III.8, 49), or the circumcision (III.49), or the Sabbath (II.31, III.41). Or consider, again, "Bloomsday" and the quality (not the content) of Maimonides' day as described in his logbook (see the excerpts in Leo W. Schwarz's *Memoirs of My People*). Contrast, indeed!

And yet, as Bloom recapitulates his day's wandering, just before he goes to bed, each episode is given a Jewish, instead of Homeric-Greek, signification. The breakfast is now "burnt offering"; Hades or the funeral, "rite of Samuel"; Wandering Rocks or the bookhunt, "Simchath Torah"; the Sirens at the Ormond Hotel, "Shira Shirim"; the Nausicaa episode with Gerty MacDowell, "rite of Onan"—and so on.

The metamorphosis from a Homeric-Greek to a Hebrew signification of the day's events makes it abundantly clear, though it should have been clear long before now, that *Ulysses* is a dialectical work in much the same sense as Thomas Mann's *The Magic Mountain* and Joseph in Egypt, or Dostoevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov*. Like all great works of art, it seeks to achieve a resolution of opposing forces; the stresses and strains constitute its artistic dynamic. Thus, as Mr. Levin eloquently points out, if Stephen may be taken to represent the active principle, Molly is the passive principle. To Stephen's mind and its uncompromising nay—*non serviam!*—Molly opposes her compromising body with its continuous affirmation—*yes*, the refrain of Molly's incredible 45-page, one-sentence monologue ending the book. Again, to the Hellenism of Stephen's analytical intellectuality is opposed, though not as with Molly, the intuitive emotionality of Bloom's Hebraism. Somewhere between

the *yes* of Molly and the *may* of Stephen, (or to use the triad of T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*), between the "Give" of Molly and "Control" of Stephen is the "Sympathize," the neutralism of Bloom—the "lacerated heart" torn between the two. Hebraism and Hellenism, heart and mind, intuition and intellect, father and son—the two can be reconciled to balance each other evenly for the greater glory of God and man. There is even something of the Greek in the Hebrew, and something of the Hebrew in the Greek. The wandering of Odysseus is the wandering, also, of Bloom the Jew; hence the metamorphosis from the Greek import and interpretation of the wandering to their Hebrew equivalent. "Jewgreek is greekjew. Extremes meet." Stephen and Bloom need each other and also all of their respective potentialities; the world needs Moses and David as much as it needs Aristotle and Plato.

But if Stephen and Bloom meet and part, how shall the world be served? It is not only that the Jew is fated to be Odysseus, condemned to eternal wandering as long as Telemachus will not respect him as his father, or even recognize him for what he is. For the Wandering Jew is the world in microcosm, not so much the world as the estrangement of the world and of the soul. The irony of the present has not made a butt of Bloom alone. If Odysseus has become debased, so, also,

have Telemachus, Penelope, Nestor, Calypso, Circe, the Sirens—all. It is a world cut off from the parent, without roots and without ties. What can there be but separation, bitter estrangement—and remorseless, agonized irony?

NOTE

I am appending this note in the hope that it will aid those readers who may wish to examine for themselves the above motifs in *Ulysses*. I have used the Modern Library edition of the novel (1934), despite its very many misprints and mistakes, because it is so easy of access in this country.

Some of the memorable passages to which I have alluded are found on the following pages: Mr. Deasy's remarks on Jews (pp. 34-37); Leopold Bloom's memories of his father (pp. 669, 708, 75, 121); Leopold's anguish about his son (pp. 88, 94, 165, 280, 406-7, 721); Bloom's alienation from his non-Jewish associates (pp. 215, 331-2, 60, 114, 120, 632, 326-7, 336); Stephen's alienation (pp. 20, 19, 43, 12, 240, 87); Bloom and Stephen at Nighttown (pp. 430, 456, 432, 466, 468, 565, 592); Bloom and Stephen compare notes (pp. 650, 671, 672, 674-6, 689); "Bloomsday" and the Fence of the Torah (pp. 704, 718, 709-10, 55-58, 62-63, 169-73, 76, 91, 438-9, 275, 493, 712).

Of the commentaries on Joyce, one may begin with Harry Levin's excellent 222-page study, *James Joyce: A Critical Introduction* (Norfolk, Conn.: New Directions, 1941). Levin will bring the reader in contact with the best that has been thought and said on Joyce: Edmund Wilson's penetrating and illuminating essay on Joyce in his *Axel's Castle* (1931); Stuart Gilbert, *James Joyce's "Ulysses"* (1931); Frank Budgen, *James Joyce and the Making of "Ulysses"* (1934)—and many other studies, commentaries, and biographies.

Design For Jewish Unity

By SAMUEL LAWRENCE

FOR THE FIRST TIME since the closing days of the first World War, American Jews have convened in a truly representative assembly. The "American Jewish Conference" has at last met in publicly conducted sessions for the express purpose of formulating a clearly defined program which will assure us representation at the peace conference and a voice in determining a solution to what will probably be the toughest problem the conference will have to settle—What about World Jewry? It was not until August of this year, however, ten full years from the day Hitler assumed the reins of leadership in Germany, and almost four years after the outbreak of the present world war, that the American Jewish community was able to summon this "American Jewish Conference." It is disconcerting, too, to find that almost eight months time elapsed between the Pittsburgh meeting and the convening of the first session of the Conference on August 29. This, in spite of the fact that many events of unusual importance to Jews were happening; events in which the American Jewish community should have been in a position to participate. The United Nations Food Conference was held in our own country; the Bermuda Conference dealing with the refugee problem took place; American forces had landed in North Africa and, months later, Jews still languished in concentration camps; the Cremieux decree was abrogated, depriving Jews of the French citizenship they had held since 1871; the campaign for a Jewish Army was bogging down for lack of American support; the Warsaw ghetto was liquidated; Hitler's

promise of complete extermination of European Jewry was fast becoming a reality, with more and more cities in conquered lands becoming "Judenrein"; and the refugee problem was growing to alarming proportions. And while all this was going on, American Jewry could do little. We had no representative body to speak for us as a united group. We had no program, for we were divided on every question of public policy. We were impotent when we were needed most.

Events have shown that it is only a matter of time before a decisive United Nations victory is registered in the war against Hitlerism. The people of the war-torn countries know now that they will eventually be reestablished as free nations and that they will once again resume their peacetime way of life. The Jews of Europe, however, can look forward to no such certain future. Only the Gestapo knows, or can guess, how many Jews will be alive in Europe when the war ends; but those who do manage to live through these years of purgatory will present a major problem to the peace conference, or the refugee committee, or to whichever body is selected to handle the vast program of resettlement and rehabilitation of the European Continent. In meeting this tragic problem, the world is going to look to the American Jewish Community for guidance. It will expect us to know what should be done to alleviate the suffering of our coreligionists abroad, and it will expect to receive our assistance in repatriating as many Jews as possible back to the countries from which they were deported. Certainly the salvation of these Jews is our responsi-

bility, and we must be prepared to act in their behalf for many years to come. Their suffering has been too great, their degradation too complete, their tragedy too soul-searing for their fate to be settled in long drawn-out conferences or left in the hands of private organizations. It will require the best brains and ability a united American Jewry can produce to solve the many perplexing problems which a humanitarian program of such magnitude will undoubtedly present.

The American Jewish Conference has been called for the express purpose of working out a program for the future well-being of world Jewry, and to appoint a delegation to present its proposals to the peace conference. When its work is done, the Conference, according to present plans, will disband and cease to exist. What body will then represent American Jewry? What Jewish organization will there be influential enough to enlist the support of a united American Jewish community in a program to assist the Jews of Europe in their struggle for recognition and justice from the many countries to be reestablished as free nations, and in which the Jewish question will once again be considered an "internal problem?" And who is to say which organization shall take the lead in combatting the wave of anti-Semitism which is certain to accompany the reactionary tendencies which invariably follow on the heels of a great war.

All of this has given rise to much agitation in certain quarters for the establishment of a permanent, democratically elected body which would remain in constant session, with duly appointed committees and subdivisions, ready to act at all times on behalf of the oppressed and persecuted Jews of Europe, and to protect our own interests at home. Perhaps the time has come for the Jews of America to give serious consideration to the arguments being advanced in favor of this proposal, or to give some thought as to what advantages such an arrangement

might offer to the American Jewish community.

It might be well, at this time, to review the experience of Jews of other countries in working out this same problem, and to determine, if possible, whether or not any of the organizations which have come to be recognized as the official spokesman for the Jews of other lands could serve as a model for us to study. The first such body, of course, was the famous Assembly of Notables which was summoned to Paris in 1806 by Napoleon to meet with government officials to devise an effective plan which would result "in stimulating the Jews of the Empire to take up the practice of arts and crafts, in order that they might learn to substitute dignified callings for the disgraceful occupations to which for generations and centuries they had largely devoted themselves." This assembly, made up of the most prominent Jews in the French Empire, undertook to answer Napoleon's famous twelve questions. So pleased was he with the successful conclusion of the meeting that he called for a "Great Sanhedrin" to ratify the action of the Notables. The "Sanhedrin," modeled after the ancient Sanhedrin of the Hebrews, was made up of representatives of each of the congregations in France and the conquered territories, forty-six of the members being rabbis and twenty-five being laymen. Out of this "Great Sanhedrin" came the French Consistory System, by which each Consistory, or district, was to be under the jurisdiction of a governing body made up of the rabbinate and elected representatives of the lay community. The Consistory was held responsible for the good behaviour of all Jews within its jurisdiction, over whom it had limited police control. It was also empowered to transact official business with the government on behalf of all the Jews within the confines of the Consistory district. While this system has been in successful operation in France right up to the day of the French defeat,

it certainly has no place in the American scheme of things, because it was superimposed on the Jewish population of France by a not too friendly government which singled them out for this special treatment.

The Alliance Israélite Universelle has long been recognized throughout the world as being the representative body of the Jews of France, although it was organized as an international association. It was formed in 1860 as a result of the experience gained in the "Damascus Affair" of 1840 and the "Mortara Case" of 1858, and had as its aim the protection of Jews in general and especially those Israelites living in the despotic countries of eastern Europe, North Africa, and Asia Minor. While its political influence has been felt many times on behalf of Jews everywhere, the "Alliance" is best known for the charitable and educational work it has carried out in Turkey, Syria, Persia, North Africa, and Palestine. The "Israelitische Allianz zu Wien" was an off-shoot of the original "Alliance," and was formed in Vienna during the Franco-Prussian war when the work of the "Alliance Israélite Universelle" in the east of Europe could no longer be continued by this group. The Viennese organization took over the activities of the French "Alliance" in Bukovina and Galicia, establishing trade and agricultural schools, and spreading secular knowledge throughout the ghettos of these provinces. Obviously, neither one of these two organizations can be considered as being in the category of truly representative bodies, for they were private organizations sustained by public membership. The "Union of German Jews," the representative body in Germany, has had too short a history to be of any value to us in this study. German Jews, for the most part, did not consider this body as being representative of the will of the people. Those Jews who styled themselves "Germans of the Jewish Faith" had little use for any attempt at united Jewish action

which, they feared, would mark them as being separate and aside from their Germanic neighbors. It is interesting to note, in this respect, that one of Hitler's first acts was to order the "Union of German Jews" to change its name to the "Union of Jews in Germany" because, according to Nazi racial theories, there were no German Jews. As has been true so many times in the past, it is to Great Britain that we must turn for a truly living example of democratic action as applied to the Jewish community of that country, and it is the "Board of Deputies of British Jews" which will give us the surest clue as to how a similar body would function in our own country.

For the first six months of this year, the Jews of Great Britain have been busily preparing for the triennial general elections of deputies to represent the various communities on the "Board of Deputies of British Jews," which was held throughout the country from May 6 to June 16. The general tone of seriousness displayed throughout the campaign, and the warmth aroused by all the discussions and debates which accompanied the choice of candidates can best be appreciated by glancing over some of the many editorials, featured articles, advertisements, and letters to the editor which appeared in all the Anglo-Jewish publications. The "letters to the editor" columns are particularly revealing of the wide variety of subjects which the election was to settle, for they indicate how deeply conscious are the ordinary people of the importance of the problems confronting the community. "Refugees and the Deputies"—"Recognize the Role of Palestine"—"Women and the Deputies"—"Election System Obsolete"—"Deputies and War-time Morals"—"Joint Foreign Committee and North Africa"—"Garment Workers and the Deputies"—"The Deputies and Anti-Semitism"—"Anti-Zionists well Organized"—"Attempts to Influence the Deputies"—these are but a few of the headings to the hundreds of letters

in which the Jews of Britain make themselves heard. It is these letters, too, which indicate more clearly than could anything else, the truly democratic character of the "Board of Deputies of British Jews."

What is this "Board of Deputies of British Jews" that it should be accorded such wide-spread interest by the Jews of the British Isles? What is its history and background, its accomplishments and its failures? What is its importance to Anglo-Jewish life? In the advertisements announcing the triennial elections, the statement is made that "The Board of Deputies is the recognized representative body of the Jews of Great Britain. It represents you in the problems and difficulties that face and will face the Jewish community in this country and abroad . . . the Board has, throughout its long history, watched over the interests of the Jewish community in this country, and helped in every possible way by the use of its influence and by direct representation, Jews who are oppressed and persecuted abroad." The almost two hundred year history of the "Deputies" is the history of the emancipation of Jewry itself, not only in Britain, but in all of Europe and the Near East. During its many years of activity the "Board" has participated in almost every campaign to remove political and social disabilities which were delaying the process of assimilation, and it has fought valiantly to better the lot of Jews everywhere.

The origin of the "Board of Deputies" can be traced back to the year 1760, when a committee of seven "Deputados" was appointed by the "Mahamad" of the "Portuguese Nation" to draw up an address to be presented to the newly-ascended king, George III, pledging to him the loyalty of the Jewish community. At this same meeting it was decided that it would be to the advantage of the Jews of Britain if they were to retain this committee as a permanent body, ready to act on behalf of the Jewish community in any future matters of unusual interest

to the "British subjects of the Portuguese Nation." The newly-appointed committee of "Deputados" held its first meeting on November 19, 1760, at which time it was agreed that the proper procedure to be followed in presenting the address to the king would be to forward it to the Prime Minister with a request that it be handed to His Royal Majesty. This was done, and in due course the committee was advised officially that His Majesty had graciously received the address, which had given him extreme pleasure.

Curiously enough, it was this first official, representative action on the part of the Sephardic Jews which brought about the fusion of all the Jews of Great Britain into one Anglo-Jewish community, and which put an end to the custom by which Jews were known as being of the "Portuguese Nation" or "German Nation" rather than as Jews. A few weeks after this first meeting of the Sephardim had been held, a Mr. A. Franks, representing the "German Nation," appeared before the "Deputados," protesting that the Ashkenazim had not been invited to concur in the address to the king. The committee was quick to point out that it had acted solely on behalf of the Portuguese Jews, following specific instructions from the "Mahamad," or governing lay body of the congregation. It was further suggested that there was no reason why the German Jews could not have done likewise in the interests of their own community, had they wished to do so. However, it was quickly seen that much was to be gained by fusing the two groups into one whenever the common interests of both communities indicated that joint action was necessary. Out of this meeting, therefore, came the decision to act in concert in all public matters of mutual concern to both "Nations." Arrangements were completed and the procedure to be followed was set forth in a letter dated December 14, 1760, in which it was agreed that the Ashkenazim should appoint a like committee to meet with the "Depu-

tados" whenever the necessity arose, and to discuss together all public matters which affected Jews as a whole. This letter is generally considered as having been the unofficial charter of the "Board of Deputies of British Jews."

The dominant influence in the early days of the "Deputies" was, as was to be expected, exerted by the Sephardim, with the German Jews playing a relatively unimportant role. The Spanish and Portuguese Jews, descendants of the Marranos, had retained in exile the proud and haughty bearing of their ancestors. They represented a most important element in the rapidly expanding business community, for they were the bankers, the commercial traders, the exporters and importers, the merchant princes of the England of that period. Many famous names, names known the world over in the field of trade and commerce, were listed as being members of their congregation in London. Benjamin Mendes Da Costa, first president of the "Deputies"; his successor in 1766, Joseph Salvador; the Mocatta family; the Brandons; and the Lopez, Ricardo, Disraeli, and Aguilar families, all of whom were later to be converted to Christianity, were highly placed members of the community. The Ashkenazim, on the other hand, were of humble origin. They were the "pack on the back" peddlers, the petty traders and the old clothes dealers who travelled throughout the countryside disposing of their wares. The two groups, aside from their religious beliefs, had little in common. The wide social disparity which existed between them is well illustrated in a recorded document in the annals of the Portuguese congregation in which the tale is told of a Sephardic Jew who became enamored of a Jewess of the Ashkenazic community and wished to enter into matrimony with her. The "Mahamad," after due deliberation, refused to grant permission for the marriage to take place, in spite of the fact that twelve years had gone by since the two commu-

nities were joined together by the action of the "Board of Deputies of British Jews" in 1760.

With the turn of the century, however, the German Jews began to assume a position of importance. They had prospered in England, many of them accumulating large fortunes. Several Ashkenazic families achieved positions in the financial world of equal prominence to that of the most influential Sephardic leaders. Abraham and Asher Goldsmid along with Levi Barent Cohen, who was to become the father-in-law of two famous men, Sir Moses Montefiore and Nathan Rothschild, had become so financially powerful that they could no longer be ignored. The Sephardic community, on the other hand, had been gradually losing its dominant position in British Jewry. Many of the younger adherents had migrated to the colonies, and many of the more prominent families had gone over to the Church of England. It was not long, therefore, before the relative positions of the two groups was completely reversed, and the Ashkenazim had gained ascendancy over Anglo-Jewish affairs.

The original intention of the founders was to limit the functions of the "Board" to cases of unusual public interest, and it was intended to be more or less of an "ad hoc" organization, ready to step into the breach whenever its good offices were needed. The first official meeting was held a week after the "Board's" inception, to consider an appeal from the Jews of Jamaica for assistance in settling their differences with the colonial government. The next meeting of which we have any record was called in January of 1766 when the Sephardic section met to consider a parliamentary bill concerning the activities of brokers. In May of the same year another meeting was held at the behest of the government, in which it was requested that the "Deputies" take cognizance of the illegal practices of the Jews of Minorca. In 1778 a secretary, Moses Isaac Levy, was appointed. At the same

time it was decided to discontinue the practice of keeping the minutes in Portuguese, and from that day on the records of the "Board" appear in English. In the following year England was threatened with invasion. The "Deputies," in an emergency meeting, issued orders that all Jews were to join any patriotic organizations which might be formed in their districts, and that they were to lend every effort to aid the government in this national emergency. Perfunctory meetings, all of a similar nature, were held at infrequent intervals from that time on to the year 1835, at which time Sir Moses Montefiore was elected to the presidency and a committee was appointed to frame a constitution for a "Board of Deputies" with much greater powers and with a much broader scope of activity.

The thirty year period during which Sir Moses Montefiore held sway as president of the "Deputies," and which is generally referred to as the "Montefiore era," is the period during which the "Board" reached full stature. One year after his election to the presidency, the British Government granted official recognition to the "Deputies." In that year two acts of Parliament, the Marriage Act and the Registration Act, were passed which put the official stamp of approval on the "Board's" claim that it was the representative body of all British Jewry. By the terms of these two enactments the president of the "Board of Deputies of British Jews" was granted sole authority for certifying the Marriage Secretaries of those synagogues which were to receive Marriage Registers. It was in 1836, too, that a constitution was formally adopted, containing in its preamble the statement that "it was of essential advantage to the interests of the Jews of Britain, that in all matters attaching to their political welfare they should be represented by one body; that inasmuch as the general body of Deputies has long been recognized as their representa-

tive, it is highly desirable for the general good that all the British Jews should so acknowledge them by having a sufficient number of members from each congregation to ensure the accordance of their proceedings with the general wishes of the Jews." The "Board" was to be made up of twenty-two deputies; the "Portuguese" and the "Great" synagogues were each to appoint seven representatives; the "Hambro" and the "New" synagogues were each entitled to four deputies. From this modest beginning the "Board" has grown to such an extent that it now has three hundred and fifty-five members representing ninety-two London synagogues, one-hundred and twenty-seven provincial congregations, fifteen institutions, and ten colonial communities.

The "Board" has accomplished its best work through the excellent character of the personnel it has always been fortunate enough to secure for the committees which supervise the various fields of Jewish activity over which the "Deputies" had assumed jurisdiction. The Education Committee has long guided the course of Jewish education, and has kept an ever-vigilant eye on the possibility of encroachments upon the rights of Jewish students in the field of higher learning. The Law and Parliamentary Committee, first appointed in 1854, has as its special function the safeguarding of the citizenship rights of all British Jews. The Press and Information Committee, established in 1919, has done splendid work in combatting the rapid spread of anti-Semitism which engulfed the world following the first World War, and which reached its peak of hatred and vilification with the Nazi seizure of power in Germany in 1933. Around this time it became evident that a more effective method would have to be adopted if the outpourings of the foreign and native fascists were to be successfully fought. A special Coordinating Committee was set up to meet this new menace. It effectively ties together

the work of the Press and Information Committee with that of the Law and Parliamentary Committee. The Trades Advisory Council was established shortly before the outbreak of war for the purpose of promoting good relations between Christians and Jews in the business world. The Russian-Jewish Committee, formed during the day of the great migration of Jews westward from the land of the Czars, has done exceptionally fine work in caring for the refugees, and in sending them on their way to America and the colonies. The Aliens Committee, established in 1898, has zealously guarded the rights of those Jews of foreign birth who found a haven in Britain and who decided to remain there.

Although originally founded for the purpose of protecting the interests of the Jews of Great Britain, and only incidentally those of the Jews in the British colonies, the "Deputies" were destined to achieve renown throughout the civilized world for their endeavors on behalf of the persecuted Jews of Russia and eastern Europe during the last half of the nineteenth century. Due, in a large measure, to the leadership of Sir Moses Montefiore, the "Board" attained a position of unusual importance in the eyes of world Jewry, and it was to the "Deputies" that Jews everywhere turned for assistance whenever persecution threatened. The many trips he made to Palestine and the eastern countries in the interests of his coreligionists there have made his name known throughout the world as a humanitarian, a great Englishman, and a great Jew. He travelled always as president of the "Board of Deputies of British Jews," and it was in the name of the "Deputies" that he achieved so many successful conclusions to his ventures. It is to the everlasting glory of Queen Victoria that she enabled Montefiore to journey to foreign lands with the sanction and full support of the British Government. Wherever he went the way was prepared for him by

the consulates and embassies of Her Majesty's government, and the demands he made to foreign powers for justice to the Jews within the confines of their respective borders were always backed by the influential support of the British Foreign Office. When travelling in dangerous waters or in war-torn territories he was given the protection of the British flag, and on one or two of his missions he was transported on British naval vessels.

The first trip Sir Moses made as president of the "Deputies" was to Alexandria to intercede with Mehemet Ali on behalf of the imprisoned Jews who were being held on a ritual murder charge in what was widely known as the "Damascus Affair." Accompanied by Adolphe Crémieux, the great French jurist whose name is so well known today in connection with the famous "Crémieux Decree," and Dr. Salomon Munk, the noted orientalist, Sir Moses Montefiore accomplished the first great triumph for the new principle of intercession with foreign governments on matters relating to the Jews of any country. For the first time in their long history of persecution and suffering Jews had aroused the sympathy of Christian nations and had received support from powerful countries in an international affair. For the first time, too, Jews had fought back against calumny and injustice—and they had won! Little wonder then that the "Board of Deputies of British Jews" should come to be known as the focal point of Jewish action all over the world, and that appeals for assistance should be received whenever Jews the world over were in trouble. The "Mortara Case" was the occasion for another of Montefiore's trips; this time to Rome to intercede with the Pope on behalf of the Mortara family whose son had been kidnapped and placed in a monastery to be brought up as a Catholic.

Probably the most famous of the missions Sir Moses undertook for the "Board of Deputies" was his trip to Russia to

intercede with the authorities there for repeal of some of the harsh measures which had been enacted against the Jews. He had the distinction of being received by the Czar himself on April 8, 1846, and during this royal audience he pleaded for a more lenient attitude towards the Jews of Russia. History has recorded only too well that this trip was doomed to failure. A second journey to Russia in 1872 likewise availed nothing. However, out of all these ventures came the formation of the Joint Foreign Committee in conjunction with the Anglo-Jewish Association. In 1878 the two organizations decided to merge their foreign activities so as to present a unified program to the Berlin Congress which was meeting that year to settle the Balkan question. Each organization appointed seven members to form the Joint Foreign Committee, and this group of fourteen was to work out a program to be submitted to the Congress. That this procedure was highly successful is a matter of record. Due to the insistence of the British plenipotentiaries, Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury, a clause was written into the formal treaty by which the Rumanian and Bulgarian governments guaranteed full equality to the Jews within the borders of each country. Although this guarantee was never fulfilled by the Rumanian Government, the precedent which was set in having Jewish affairs regulated and sanctified by international agreement was an accomplishment of which the Joint Foreign Committee could well be proud.

One could continue on indefinitely reciting the many benefits which the Anglo-Jewish community has received from the "Board of Deputies of British Jews." Suffice it to say that it has done its work well in the past and that it stands ready to do its part in the troublesome years which lie ahead. The Jews of Great

Britain know what their program is to be. They know what body is to carry it out. They do not need to organize an assembly each time a new crisis presents itself. They already have such an assembly in permanent form with a long record of achievement to its credit. The "Board of Deputies" is their official spokesman, honored by Jew and non-Jew alike, and respected for what it is and was—Jewish democracy in action.

What does all this mean to American Jewry? Until recent years it meant little, if anything. Unlike the Jews of other lands we had no need to struggle for political emancipation or for release from the ghetto. No restrictive legislation has ever been applied against us, and we have had no special disabilities to overcome which might have made group action necessary. We came to America, as did every other immigrant, free of fetters or chains. We entered the melting-pot along with the English, the Poles, the Germans and the Swedes—and we came out Americans. We spread far and wide throughout the land, following the inevitable migrations westward until not a town was without its quota of Jewish citizens. As a result of this our interests have been widely divergent. A representative national body had no place in the American Jewish scheme of things because we had no serious national problems.

Hitler, however, has changed all that, for he has presented us with a crisis of such magnitude as to call for the marshalling of every ounce of strength we can muster into a united front. The fight against Nazi brutality abroad and native fascism at home is truly a national problem which the American Jewish communities must face. Has Hitler made it necessary for us to organize a "Board of Deputies" for American Jewry?



Murder In Europe

DAVID BEKKER

The Poetry of André Spire

By HARRY E. WEDECK

ONE OF THE MOST picturesque and significant French writers that Nazi tyranny has driven to the United States is André Spire. For the last fifty years the reputation of André Spire has grown and become established in no mean niche. Numerous articles and critical studies by Charles Péguy and Romain Rolland, among others, have appeared in France, as well as articles in England, Latvia, South America, Germany and, to a lesser extent, this country; while a fair proportion of his poetry has been translated into English, Roumanian, Czech, German. Yet to the general public Spire remains rather unknown, largely because, in spite of his flaming humanitarianism, he is fundamentally an *esprit poétique*, a poetic spirit appealing enlighteningly to a sensitive, and therefore smaller, audience.

There are in Spire certain traits that are associated with another wild and forthright poet who sang of the Open Road and the Common Man: the vital, arousing Walt Whitman. Spire has an exuberant, still unquenched vitality, reflected in his brief, sharply-etched pieces on fishing, the sunset, a street glistening under the rain, river banks, a storm and its aching afterglow.

Like Whitman, Spire senses and relishes the open, spacious life. Like Whitman, too, he enjoys equally forest, stream, and study. Pan, goat-footed and bucolic, clings to him no less than the sophisticated Minerva.

Spire was in his early years a person who faced life roundly—not a secluded rhymester driven by a writing urge exclusively, but a poet who, in the Greek

sense, made and fashioned his material out of the rich variety of life and transmuted the resultant ecstasy of his spirit into flowing rhythms of sheer esthetic jubilation with a Natural World not altogether "right," but still revealing transcendental glimpses and uplifting moods, if one approached the Natural World with humility and understanding.

Spire has written extensively on European literature, ranging—in his *Quelques Juifs et Demi-Juifs* (*Some Jews and Half-Jews*, 1928)—from Armand Lunel to Proust, and from Henri Franck to James Darmesteter. He has produced an excellent study of Zangwill (1909), and a survey of the Jews of the First World War (1917). He has been a critic and a journalist, an official in the Council of State and Ministry of Agriculture, and eloquent protagonist of Jewry. But pre-eminently and continuously, he is a poet. Some ten volumes of poems stand in his name—among them *Versets* (*Verses*, 1908), *Et Vous Riez* (*And You Laugh*, 1905), *Le Secret*, 1919—together with a long dramatic poem, *Samaël* (1921), about the evil angel in snake's disguise. In 1938 admirers of the poet published a volume of homage, consisting of reminiscences, poems, eulogies, critiques, by Daniel Halévy, Renée Aberdam, Edmond Fleg, and Lunel. One eulogist calls Spire the "poet of rivers." But Spire is more than that; he is the poet of Nature, co-tangent with Nature in Spinoza's sense. Another calls him the poet of revolt, the epitome of Spire's intellectual and emotional life.

There is a photo of Spire as a young volunteer in the 6th Mounted Chasseurs, dated 1887. There is another photo of

him, bearded and mature, skating at Klosters, in 1914. These two portraits are symbolic: they sum up his passion for France and his deep-rooted attachment to Nature.

This full-bearded, bright-eyed lyricist—as Kruse's portrait shows him—was born in Nancy on July 21, 1868. He was the eldest son in a family established in Eastern France long before the French Revolution. His father, Edouard Spire, formerly a notary in Lorraine, had become an affluent shoe manufacturer with vast philanthropic sympathies and a deep communal, but not dogmatically Jewish, consciousness. It was a household without any ritualistic Jewish conformity, but broad in its fundamental humaneness. Under his mother's care, young Spire came in contact with his father's employees: he saw sickness, distress, and great social cleavage.

André Spire was remarkably athletic. In boyhood he rode and fished, swam, skated, fenced, danced, climbed mountains; knew the open spaces, woods, vineyards, and rustic life. At thirteen, he went on his first hunting expedition with his father. His parents encouraged him in this open-air life to prevent a possible one-sided bookishness.

But Spire was far from bookish. He was in fact, from youth on, a rebel. He studied—but without conforming. He wrote verse instead of preparing his Latin translations. He read widely—but only what appealed to him. At fifteen, he produced his first poem; then came translations, imitations, experimental pieces. His teachers encouraged him to read in the Renaissance poets and the Romantics, particularly in Victor Hugo, who was then at his height.

At nineteen, while at the University of Nancy, Spire definitely decided on writing as a career. His father, a deep and wide reader and an enlightened mind, did not disapprove. His mother, a lover of music, listened sympathetically as André recited his poems to her.

There was a year of military service in the cavalry, Spire, undisciplined as ever, jibing against blind routine. On his return, he left Nancy for Paris to read, after all, in law. In the capital he studied and wrote verse. He fell into the literary and social atmosphere, made contacts with the newer reviews, felt the impingement of the new social consciousness that—stimulated by Hugo's humanitarianism and Tolstoi's preaching of the Common Man—made the sensitive Spire leap into the movement.

There was a certain René Bazin, a questing social spirit who advised Spire to read Desjardin's *Le Devoir Présent* (*The Present Duty*) advocating a moral regeneration among all humanity, a union for moral action. Spire and Bazin, urged mainly by the Tolstoyan features, were ready to act.

Then the Dreyfus Affair broke. Spire, although deprecating formal religious dogma, was stirred in his deep racial pride. He engaged in a duel that was motivated by the Dreyfus situation. It was at this time that he made a will, acknowledging his pantheistic views but asserting the spiritual force of Judaism.

Spire and Bazin now implemented their social views. They formed a rehabilitation organization, designed to help in sickness, accident, and unemployment, that lasted from 1896 to 1920. The Dreyfus Affair had aroused an intellectual revolt. Workers and writers, poets and ploughmen organized. People's universities were formed. Spire and Daniel Halévy founded a small People's University of their own. Spire lectured, visited, wrote; investigated labor and social conditions; read; and kept producing poetry that was a sublimation of his work.

The first collection of poems—appearing in 1903—came in a new medium; *vers libres*, free verse, with a difference; with a rhythm in consonance with the new social horizons. In this new kind of verse that flowed in a rhythm subtly harmonizing with the context, Spire was

largely influenced by the Symbolists: by Maeterlinck and Verlaine, James and Remy de Gourmont. Spire saw Dadaism and Surrealism contending. He went off somewhat on his own, experimenting scientifically with sound values, so that he became a pioneer in this spacious, rhythmic, yet highly involuted genre.

It has been noted that Spire's life was free from Jewish dogma, Jewish back-grounds. That is true, up to a point. In 1904, reading Zangwill's *Chad Gadya*, Spire underwent a sudden personalized "conversion." He became Jew-conscious. He began to realize himself as a link in the long racial history of Jewry.

Poèmes Juifs (Jewish Poems) was the first passionate result of this upsurge of racial cognizance. It was not all wistful and mellow poetry. There is sharp irony and fulmination. The Jew is a member of a social organization that is itself in flux, groping, confused. What mankind needs is a Moral Law that would effect a kind of Universal Brotherhood of Man. Meanwhile the Jew, abandoned, confused, is nobody's son, a *nullius filius*. He is an alien in a perpetually alien land. What is the solution? Spire found it later—in Zionism. He had, after the first World War, become an active Zionist, lecturing and founding, in 1918, *La Palestine Nouvelle* (*The New Palestine*). He had already visited the East, in connection with boundary questions in French Syria. At the Peace Conference he was a delegate in behalf of the Zionists and became acquainted with Dr. Chaim Weizmann. He had found himself, his spiritual home.

* * *

André Spire has a lusty, Elizabethan zest in life. In *And You Laugh*, published in the early years of the century, he proclaims his motto: "Let us sing life!"

The labor of the people, the minute immediacies of common life are no less his theme: because they are of universal import, because they contribute to the totality of man's corporate life. So *Dust*

is the *Song of the Maid*: a modernized version of Hood's *Song of the Shirt*, equally plangent, equally human with its cosmic refrain:

Wipe on, my dusting cloth, my friend.

Wipe on, your work will never end.

Always Spire returns to the people, the little shopkeepers in the Paris streets, the children playing in the parks, the old men rummaging in the book stalls, the fishermen and the peasants.

The body of his poetry consists mainly of short pieces, fugitive lines, things with a medieval flavor, fragile, Herrick-like—catching a mood, imprinting a certain feel in the air, suggesting vividly the intangibilities of emotion. All these half-lights, these almost inarticulate flows of feeling, are hammered into fluid rhythms or into whimsicalities—as in the address to Books, no mean contestant with Catullus' wistful lines, or Martial's.

Paris itself is to Spire a microcosm, not only in a civic or social sense, but as a revelation of the multiple acts and emotions of the Common Man. *On the Quays* is such a vignette—the book-lined stalls along the Seine, the dusty tomes calling to him, urging him to pass them by, to seek life itself. It is a symbol of France, Paris—a symbol that he constantly apostrophizes. Possibly Spire put most emotion into his *My Country* (1906), now, in retrospect, a nostalgic invocation. For it is Nature's irony that, in old age, exiled from France, Spire has had to take his staff and like the wandering troubadours seek new horizons.

Beyond the poems that deal with the universals, Spire has produced a body of poetry which, though slender in mere bulk, is specifically Jewish in texture, in direction, and in emotional appeal. As early as 1905, in Strassburg, he wrote these thunderous lines in *The Ancient Law*, a prophetic anticipation of the future.

Your brow, still young, bent over
toward sadness
And grief.

Beauty will seem a luxury to you,
Luxury an abomination,
Diversions a theft.
You will have ears only
To hear the lamentations
That rise from the four corners
Of the Universe.

His passion for Judaism—not in a constricted, local, national, or dogmatic sense, but with a pantheistic, cosmic implication—surges through Spire's writings, even in prose. To refer here only cursorily to his prose, Spire's laudation of the loyalty and courage of the Jews, his essay on the Frontier Problem between Syria and Palestine, and his brilliant summation of Germanism versus Judaism are far more than a literary gesture or a flourish of academic writing. These come from the very depths of his artistic, emotional, and spiritual character. It manifests itself, with a fine free fervor, again and again. The inherently Jewish spirit that remains fundamentally Hebraic though it may wear the trappings of cosmopolitan life, wells up, enflamed, challenging. *Jewish Dreams* has this emotional uplift:

O my brothers, my equals, my friends!
People shorn of rights, people without
a land!
Nation for whom the blows of every
country
Took the place of a homeland!

Ernest Renan, one of the greatest Hebrew scholars that France has produced, had said that Israel aspires to two contradictory goals: it wants to be like the rest of the world, and also to be apart from it. Spire's commentary is a piece of grim irony, lashing those who are ready to "conform," and at the same time entering a poetic confirmation of Gobineau's exposé of "race" theories:

You are satisfied, you are content.
Your nose is almost straight, upon my
word!
And then so many Gentiles have a nose
slightly bent!

Again, the age-old relationship between Jew and non-Jew is rousing dramatized:

Christian, you think we are friends.
And, although you hardly love me,

You bring me to your house.
Christian, you are not at ease.
Your eyes do not leave my eyes.
And on your lips I read the ancient insult . . .
And you are right, between ourselves,
To be a little afraid, my friend.
For they live only on terror—
These two ancient protectors of mine—
Anxiety and Sorrow.

Few things—perhaps among them some of Zangwill's more passionate epodes—have the ring of exaltation of Spire's *Hear, O Israel!* It is the agonizing, pent-up battle cry of a people long crushed, long persecuted to the point of annihilation:

Hear, O Israel!
Will you never tire of repeating in your
prayers:
"Be praised, Eternal, who avenge my
wrongs,
Who sustain my quarrels, who protect
my rights,
Who crush my foes, who slay my oppressors:
Be praised, Eternal, who gird my loins
with strength" . . .
Hear, O Israel!
To arms!

On the occasion of the Balfour Declaration, his *Israel* came as a paean to Jewry's perpetual endurance:

Israel,
A people has spoken from beyond the
sea.
You still deserve to live.
The land of your fathers will be restored to you.
Israel,
You have known misery.
You have known sorrow.
And you were noble in your lowliness,
Because you preferred blows to oblivion,
Shame to renunciation . . .

The pogroms that darkened the early years of the century brought flaming words from Spire:

Then the elders lamented:
Do you want our sons to die?
Have you forgotten their bony arms,
Their bowed necks, their gasping
breath?

Spire's inherent Jewishness, though it may have been diffused in those early literary years in Paris, gathers momentum, speaking for all Jewry in a wide, humane gesture. Nothing could be a more illuminating though tragic commentary on these times than the *Exodus*:

Israel, O Israel, O People stubbornly
in love with life,

You must flee, Israel, from these false
homelands.

You love these countries where your
dead lie in heaps.

As one of the masters of *vers libres*, Spire has achieved a perfection of rhythm coinciding with the inner texture of his poems. In his sense of harmonies he grows perceptibly, and in his varied rhythms. They are pliant and febrile, in turn joyous and tearful, passionate like the Song of Songs. A French critic once declared: When Jesus spoke to the crowds or to his disciples, what did he do? He spoke Spire.

The poetic Jewishness of Spire is, in its ideologies, a fluid, swaying matter, advocating neither total Judaism nor total abrogation of Judaism, but predicating a perpetual flux—in the Heraclitean sense—ever the same in identity, ever changing by virtue of its functional character as a constantly moving atomic speck in the great, swirling cosmic scheme.

Spire's poetry sums up to this: A merging of his attitudes, of his race feeling, into a corporate metaphysics that is pure Spinoza and still—or perhaps on that very account—remains, in certain readily recognizable features, essentially Jewish. His poetry has been, in large part, a weapon, a social instrument. He is the poet turned social-conscious, the poet protagonist marching with his fellow-men, not peering after them. And he himself has, finally, exemplified a return to the Hebraic fold, in the highest spiritual sense.

Moses Hess: A Revaluation*

By FRITZ KAUFMANN

HOW GRATIFYING it would be to welcome wholeheartedly a new edition of this great little book which somewhat misleadingly is entitled *Rome and Jerusalem*, in allusion primarily to the renaissance of Rome and Italy which was thought to foreshadow that of Jerusalem and Palestine (Hess' work having been published in 1862, the year after Italy was proclaimed a kingdom).

In this regard Hess' writing—like so many other Zionist publications—is expressive of nineteenth century nationalism and even of the new racism: to indicate the natural foundations of perennial national life, the words "race" and "nation" are used interchangeably. The author's genetic philosophy is blended with an anti-Darwinistic theory of the original creation and subsequent fixity of the primitive races—the race being identified with an Aristotelian species.

But Hess' is not the narrow-minded nationalism of to-day; it is the document of a great humanitarian, a believer in Feuerbach's philosophy of love, the leading figure in "true socialism"—a movement which was one of the sources of Marxism (although Hess himself became a disciple of his own pupils in the later forties). He advocated a Jewish state for the Jewish nation because, as a historical materialist, he believed in the earthly conditioning of that spiritual revival of Judaism which was to be as far from dead orthodoxy as from arbitrary, modernistic reform. This state, however, was

not thought of as a petty, self-contained entity: the genius of the Jewish people gave it a universal mission in the unification of humanity. The unity of mankind itself was regarded as the keystone in the union of creation—the *sabbath of history* one day crowning the *sabbath of nature*, attained in the ancient past, when the equilibrium within both the organic and the inorganic worlds was established.

The force of Hess' book does not consist in any specific blueprinting of the new state; his technical details are all taken over from other sources, as he frankly admits. His merit consists rather in projecting the Jewish problem against the background of a grandiose metaphysics of history which, exhibiting the universal meaning of Jewish life, should be able to stir every Jewish heart. Even today this work deserves the careful attention of the philosopher as such—and it should have had a place, e.g., in Julius Guttmann's *Philosophie des Judentums*. It is not only a bold, prophetic vision presented in fascinating style, but in spite of its rather improvised form, it is the result of prolonged thought and an unusual familiarity with the political economy, the anthropology, the natural sciences of his time. More than this, it combines remarkable synthetic (or, rather, synoptic) power with a true presentiment of what in contemporary thought was destined to survive and what would perish with the day. It is an important contribution to what even now may be considered philosophy's paramount problem: to show the basic unity of nature and history without blurring the essential differences between the two realms. According to Hess, there is

* *Rome and Jerusalem*, by Moses Hess. Translated from the German by Meyer Waxman. Second edition. Bloch Publishing Company, New York, 1943. 265 pp. \$2.50.

one creative, all-comprehensive movement which has come to its conclusion in the behaviour-patterns and in the laws of cosmic and organic life, while on the higher level of social life it is still struggling to transform a primitive chaos into the solidarity of the human genus.

The theory of the two sabbaths seems to mark an epoch in Hess' intellectual development. On the one hand it can be taken as a reply to Marx and Engels who had charged "true socialism" with a mystifying *Gleichschaltung* (levelling) of nature and history. On the other hand (and more important for us Jews) it marks in a rather moving way Hess' return to Jewish concepts, to his Jewish people and their problems. For in his life there was no gap between theory and practice; he not only wrote a "Philosophy of Action"; he lived it in the spirit of self-sacrifice, as a refugee in France, the victim of his political convictions, disowned by his wealthy father and doomed to utter destitution for having married a prostitute, in order to "atone for the evil society had done." In an odd sense he was something of a *baal ha-Shem*, and certainly he was a *baal teshuvah*—one in the long line of "home-comers" from Heine to Cohen and Rosenzweig (to speak only of the century of emancipation).

In this human sense the book is a classical document although externally it has not achieved a mature, classical form. Unfortunately the version here presented to the American reader is far below the standard set by Moses Hess himself. *Amicus Plato, magis amica veritas*. The services of the translator, Meyer Waxman, to the history of Jewish literature are too well known to need any emphasis. This reviewer is obliged to state, however, that Waxman should never have allowed a bywork of his youth to appear once more in its first, often elegant and judicious, but all too often imperfect form. I refer not to the many printing mistakes carried over from the first edi-

tion. I shall not insist on the fact that large sections—not only the one note where it is explicitly stated—are more or less free summaries of Hess' text (above all the important Part III of the Epilogue): this is a loss more to the scholar than to the type of readers Mr. Waxman and his publishers have in mind. But throughout, one cannot help feeling uneasy at the many deviations from and alterations of the original, and especially at outright mistakes which obscure, stultify, or even reverse its meaning.

I am well aware of the gravity of this indictment, and while space does not allow me to state the case fully, I shall at least try to substantiate it by giving a few examples. I shall not stick at trifles like the annoying inaccuracy of names and titles, although it rather pains one to read (p. 180) of the comets of *Bielasch* (sc. *der Biela'sche Komet*, the comet of Biela), etc. Instead let me give a short list of *material* misunderstandings, selected from the second part of the book:

Waxman has p. 133: "The life of nature which, though it has not reached the end of its development, is yet governed by strict laws which are calculable"; instead of: "The life of nature which has reached the end of its development and appears, therefore, as a perfect circular movement whose laws are calculable (*das Naturleben, welches, weil es seine Entwicklungsgeschichte vollendet hat, als abgeschlossener Kreislauf erscheint, dessen Gesetze berechenbar sind.*)"

p. 142: "in a practical way"; instead of: before being dealt with by way of practice (*vor der Praxis*).

p. 149: "Was not help given to Zion to defend and establish the wild mountaineers there?" instead of: "is not help sent to mount Zion to judge (!) the wild mountaineers?" (cf. Obadja, 1: 29ff). (*Ist nicht Huelfe nach Zion gesendet worden, um die wilden Bergbewohner zu richten?*)

p. 154: "in addition to commerce"—the German word is *Haendel* (quarrels), not *Handel* (commerce).

p. 157: "perhaps"; instead of: "henceforth" (*fortan*).

p. 161: "Our people ought to be thankful"; instead of: "should politely refuse" (*sich schoenstens bedanken*).

p. 168: "Reaction has everywhere recognized its mortal enemy in those who stand midway between reaction and revolution and who act as the midwife of progress, the giant who is to smite reaction over its head"; instead of: "Reaction had everywhere recognized its mortal enemy while the nurses of progress, standing between reaction and revolution, still reared the very giant who was to outgrow them before long" (*die Reaktion hatte ueberall schon ihren Totfeind erkannt, als noch die in der Mitte zwischen der Revolution und Reaktion stehenden Ammen des Fortschritts den Riesen gross zogen, der ihnen bald ueber den Kopf wachsen sollte*).

p. 179: "Every step toward a higher grade of life must have its antecedents in the lower grade"; instead of this truism Hess has the interesting assertion: "Every step toward a higher sphere of life has as its presupposition the retrogression of a lower one" (*die Fortbildung zu einer hoeheren Lebensstufe [hat] die Rueckbildung einer niedrigeren stets zur Voraussetzung*).

p. 221: "the gap which we can hardly bridge"; instead of: "the gap which we have bridged only now" (*die Kluft, die wir gerade ueberschritten haben*).

p. 233: "equalization of all oppressed peoples which struggle to attain the same aim"; instead of: "equality of

rights for all peoples, even those who now struggle against it" (*Gleichberechtigung aller, auch derjenigen Voelker, die gegen dieselbe kaempfen*).

p. 246: (the Chassidim) "are not less ascetical than other pious Jews"; instead of: "they are anything but ascetics" (*dabei sind sie nichts weniger als asketisch*).

This must suffice—and it would be too much were it not for the fact that this book is what the publishers call "a classic and basic work" and "a 'must' book for every Jew today," translated by one of the foremost Jewish authors in the United States (who added a good introduction and a number of valuable notes, which could and should have been increased: how many of Mr. Waxman's readers will know, e.g., that the kidnapping mentioned on the first page of the Preface refers to the Mortara case of 1858?). Jewish publishers and authors cannot expect the Jewish public to do their duty nor will they lead the Jewish people to that intensification of its spiritual life for which all of us hope and struggle, if they do not fulfill their own obligation toward the spirit with that devotion and scrupulous conscientiousness which we owe to the great men of the Jewish past and the standard-bearers of the Jewish future.

It is an unpleasant task to say what seems so unfriendly a truth—one, however, with which nobody will agree more heartily than the eminent Jewish scholar Meyer Waxman himself.

Two Maps on German-Jewish History

By WERNER J. CAHNMAN

I

GERMAN-JEWISH history has drawn to a close and the time seems therefore proper to evaluate its wider significance. The topic, however, is highly controversial and many contradictory emotions have been conjured up in arguments and counter-arguments in recent years. Authors whose roots are still in Eastern Europe have been torn between their admiration of German culture and philosophy, of which German Jews appeared to be the bearers, and their resentment of the various theories and practices of Nordic Superiority, with which, curiously enough, German Jews seemed to be hardly less imbued than German Gentiles. No wonder that resentment has taken the front seat after the object of admiration has been bent into the dust. On the other hand, the attitudes of German-Jewish authors, now in this country, are no less split and uncertain. They show pride of past achievement mingled with a creeping feeling of repentance which, in turn, leaves all-too often the impression of being so calculated as to curry favor in a new environment. One of them has recently reproached his former compatriots for having been over-complacent, lacking a sense of self-defense, and neglecting their Jewish duty. Moreover, they have not sufficiently appreciated the author's books. One should bear in mind, however, that the author of this diatribe, Lion Feuchtwanger, is descended from a well-known orthodox family, which produced many devoted servants to the Jewish cause while he, on his part, tried to win fame in sensational literary enterprise. This is

but one of the numerous examples where German Jews, indiscriminately, have been made the scapegoats for vices that are by no means localized or particular to any one group. It seems to be much easier to blame those that have no way of defending themselves than to address one's preachings to the audience at hand.

In contradistinction, the following paper is intended to mind facts; it tries to evade the traps of resentment, prejudice, and partisanship by presenting the history of German-Jews in the more dependable language of maps. These maps show that Jews living within the confines of the political German Reich did not form a unit of their own prior to the 19th century and that the previous lines of division could still be ascertained after 1900. In fact, German-Jewish history, so far from justifying the maintenance of a single rigid line of demarcation between East and West, which would coincide with the former border between Russian-Poland and Prussia, actually is composed of various regional strains which participate in the patterns of both the East and the West to a varying degree. The maps also indicate the central position of German Jewry in the history of Jewish migration in the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries. Finally, they suggest that an "Atlas Judaicus" might prove to be one of the most valuable means of symbolization in Jewish historiography.

II

Map I shows the Jewish settlements in Middle Europe around 1800. At that time, Italy, France, Switzerland, Portugal, Spain, England, and the Scandinavian

countries had only a very sparse or non-existent Jewish population. The bulk of "German" Jews, representing the remnant of medieval German Jews, was living, as in times of old, in an area which reached from the upper Rhine to the middle Weser, clustering most densely along the Rhine and Main valleys, in Alsace, in the Rhenish Palatinate, in Hesse, and in Franconia. Frankfurt am Main stands out as the center of the whole area. The three main communities and seats of Jeshivahs, besides Frankfurt, are situated along an East-West line which can be drawn right through the central part of this area. Such a line would connect Fuerth, Mannheim, and Metz.

Otherwise, the pattern of settlement was entirely rural, with most Jews living in small family groups in the villages of Imperial Knights and peddling about the countryside from Sunday to Friday. The Jews of Alsace and Lorraine (regions that had been connected with the "Reich" for centuries) were still, through interchange of commerce and intermarriage, part of the larger whole, although both Alsace and Lorraine were at that time already incorporated into France. At the time of Napoleon, more exactly under the regime of Jérôme Napoleon, Kassel became a center of Jewish activities. The communities of Halberstadt and Seesen near Braunschweig, the latter the seat of Israel Jacobsohn's once famous reformed school, mark the Northern and Eastern limits of the South-Western area of Jewish settlement.

This area was widely separated from the main area of Jewish settlement in Europe in the 18th century, which was situated far to the East. A dense Jewish population was living all over the regions which belonged or, by 1800, had belonged to the old kingdom of Poland, namely Poland proper, Galicia, Wolhynia, Podolia, Lithuania, and large parts of White Russia and the Ukraina. After the divisions of Poland, large groups of this

previously united block of Jewish population found themselves as subjects of Russia, Austria, and Prussia respectively. The westernmost group, the Jews of Poznan and West-Prussia, including famous seats of scholarship like Lissa, was incorporated into the expanding state of Frederick II.

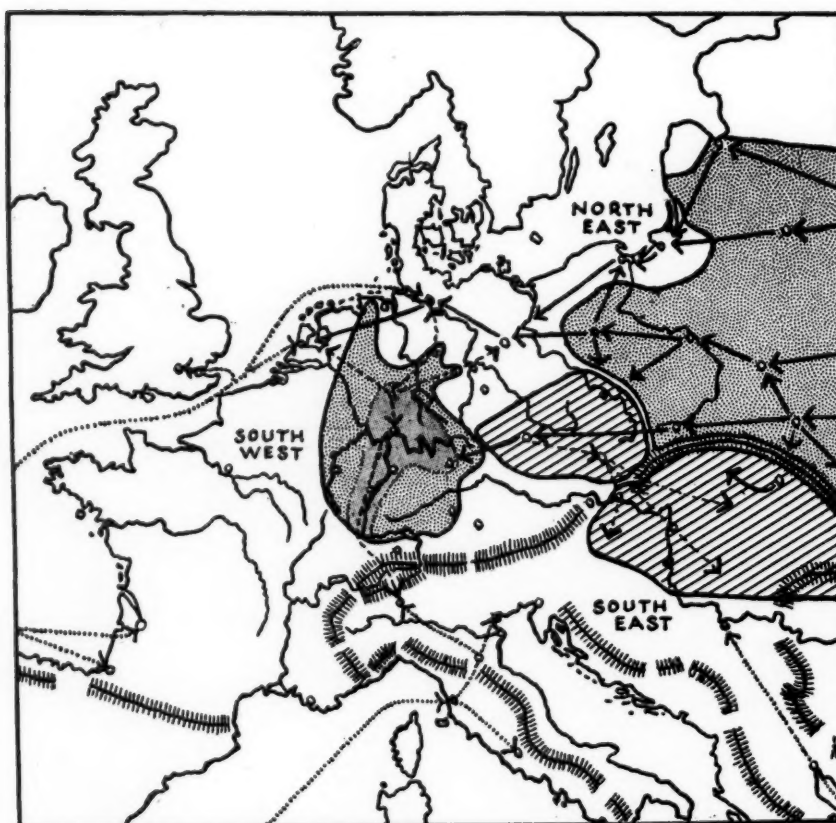
Bohemia and Hungary formed interstitial areas, with Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia representing in many ways a pattern of settlement similar to the one in South Germany, although more urbanized and territorially unified under the Habsburg régime. Many Hungarian communities were settled in the 18th century by an influx of Bohemian and Moravian immigrants, after the victories of Prince Eugene over the Turks had opened up the country for immigration. This is, however, not true for the Carpatho-Russian section of Hungary which, like Roumania, was mainly settled by Jews from Galicia.

Considerable parts of Germany and Austria have been left white on the map: this is supposed to indicate that they were almost entirely "judenrein." This is true for the Austrian Alpine countries including Vienna, for Southern Bavaria including Munich, and for large parts of middle and northern Germany; Brandenburg and Pomerania had small Jewish settlements in the 17th century, East-Prussia, Mecklenburg, and Saxony none prior to the 18th century. The only, but rather conspicuous, exception to this rule is represented by the largest German-Jewish community of the time, the three-fold community ("Dreilaendergemeinde") of Hamburg-Altona-Wandsbeck. Hamburg became an early meeting-ground of Sefardic, West-German, and East-European Jews in a similar way as did the glamorous community of Amsterdam, although on a smaller scale.







The arrows on the map indicate migration movements. The slightly dotted lines mark the sefardic migrations to Italy, to the Balkans, and to Bayonne, Bordeaux, London, Amsterdam, and Hamburg. They

Map I

JEWISH SETTLEMENT AND MIGRATION — 1800

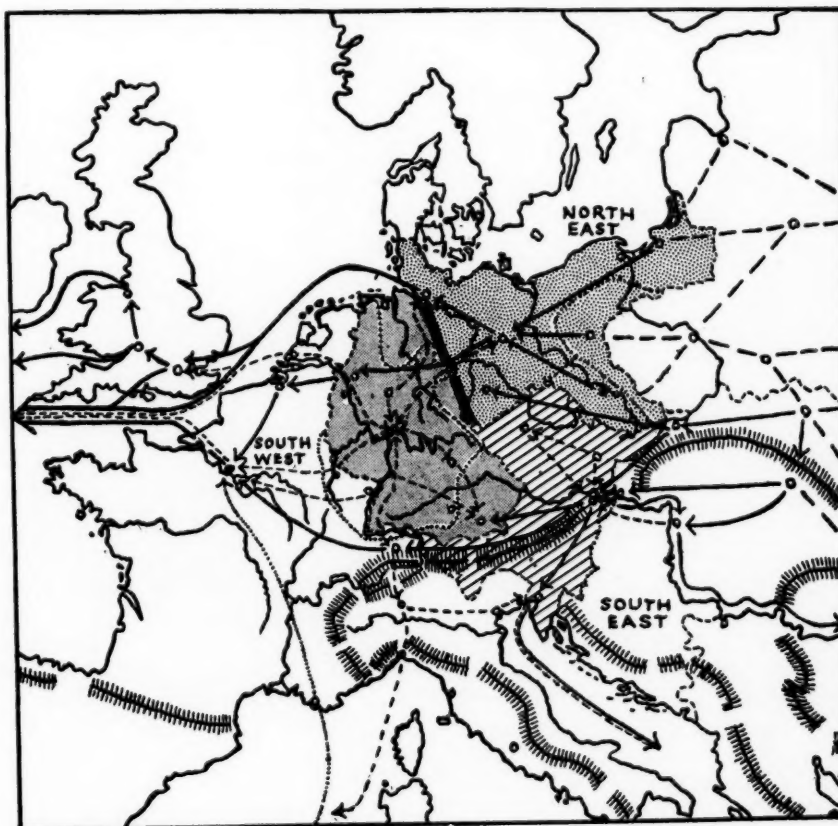


Legend

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
|  | Area I: South-West (Remnant of Medieval Settlement) |
|  | Area II: South-East (Bohemia-Hungary) |
|  | Area III: North-East (Poland-Lithuania) |
|  | Migration from Areas I and II |
|  | Migration from Area III |
|  | Sefardic Migration |

Map II

JEWISH SETTLEMENT AND MIGRATION — 1900



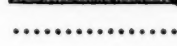
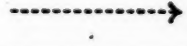
Legend



Area I: South-West Germany

Area II: Austria-Bohemia
(South-East)

Area III: North-East Germany

Frontiers of old South-West,
South-East & North-East AreasPolitical Frontiers of Germany
(without Alsace-Lorraine)
prior to 1918Elbe-Saale line separating
North-East & South-West AreaWestern Migration:
from Areas I and IIEastern Migration:
to Areas II and IIIEastern Migration: from and
through Areas II and III

Sefardic Migration

were numerically weak, but culturally highly significant because they opened up previously closed areas in the West and thus pioneered for the larger settlements of Ashkenazic Jews which followed in the 19th century. Yet, it was almost exclusively in Amsterdam and Hamburg, as we have already remarked, that they met with Ashkenazic Jews both from Western Germany and from the Polish East at an early time.

South- and West-German Jews migrated little, prior to the 19th century, except to Amsterdam, Hamburg, and, in a first and rather small trickle, to Berlin. A certain amount of emigration, especially of girls for domestic service, went to Italy. To be sure, Hungary was largely settled by Jews from Bohemia and Moravia, as has already been mentioned above.

The center of migration, like the center of settlement, lay far to the East, in the previously Polish and subsequently Russian Ukraina. Hundreds of thousands of Jews had perished there in the pogroms of Bogdan Chmelnitzky in the middle of the 17th century. Tens of thousands of them were fleeing North and South and West, and the westward movement reached not only the cities of central Poland and Lithuania, but began likewise to flood, first in small and then in larger numbers, the adjacent territories of Middle Europe. A wild flight of arrows indicates this movement on our map; it appears however to have been most pronounced in Galicia which, at any rate, lies nearest to the center of unrest in the Ukraina. Lemberg, the capital of Galicia, was itself pogromized by Chmelnitzky's Cossacks.

The Southern gate to the West was Krakow whence the migrants took their way first to Silesia, Moravia, and Bohemia, and from there to more distant regions. Begging Polish Jews flooded the highways and filled the hospices, but not a few of them brought Jewish scholarship of the East back to the West whence

they had received it in preceding centuries. For instance, two of the foremost rabbinical authorities of the 18th century were natives of Krakow (or Opatow near Krakow): Jonathan Eybeschuetz, named after the Moravian town where he was rabbi before he became rabbi of Prague, Metz, and Hamburg successively; and Eliezer Landau, rabbi of Prague and opponent of Moses Mendelssohn. Moses Mendelssohn himself, born in Dessau, was on his mother's side related to Rabbi Moses Isserles of Krakow, the commentator of the *Shulchan Aruch*.

From Prague westward, the wave of migration reached South-Germany, especially Fuerth and other communities in Frankonia. Eliezer Sussmann, of Galician origin, built lavishly painted wooden synagogues of Eastern design for newly founded communities of Eastern immigrants in a number of rural places between Nuernberg and Wuerzburg, such as Bechhofen and Horb.

The Northern gate of migration was Koenigsberg, the capital of East-Prussia. Koenigsberg was the center of wholesale trade operations with Russia while it was far distant from the pogrom area in the Ukraina. Likewise, the more rigidly intellectual outlook of Lithuanian Jewry from which territory most of the early immigrants to Koenigsberg were recruited, gave the movement into Koenigsberg not only a more respectable and well-to-do but also a more intellectual character. Salomon Maimon, of whom Kant said that he had understood his philosophy best among all his contemporaries, was an immigrant from Lithuania. The "*Ha-Meassef*," the first modern Hebrew periodical and the starting point for both the "*Haskalah*" and the Mendelssohnian emancipation movements among the Jews of Middle and Eastern Europe, was first published in Koenigsberg. Not only to Europe at large, but more especially to the Jews of Europe, Koenigsberg became the city of "pure reason." One may say that the "*Mitnagdism*" (rabbinic

cal rationalism) of Lithuania, after having been Kantianized in Koenigsberg, opened its mouth and began to talk in the secularized language of the West.

The central gate of migration, finally, was the province of Poznan which had been, by the end of the 18th century, incorporated into Prussia root and branch, including the Jews. The significance of that event can hardly be overrated. As late as 1816, that is to say after the incorporation of the Rhineland had added another West-German Jewish community to the Prussian state, the Jews of Poznan and West-Prussia still composed 54% of all Prussian Jews and more than 25% of all the Jews of Germany excluding Austria. They migrated from overpopulated Poznan to nearby Silesia and Pomerania and to distant Hamburg and Amsterdam, and to still more distant America. Their main destination, however, was Berlin, which they reached in larger and larger numbers until in 1925 almost no Jews had been left in Poznan. A glance on the map shows that Berlin was almost ideally situated in the central area between the Polish, Bohemian, and West-German settlements as well as in the center of the North-German plain and the Prussian state. It developed rapidly into the focal point of German and indeed of European Jewry in the 19th century.

III

Map 2 shows the result of the migratory movements and the political concentrations of the 19th century. The shaded area is now concentrated within the boundaries of the "*Kleindeutsches Reich*" and the largely German-speaking areas of old Austria, indicating that it was only in this period that a "German" Jewry emerged as a configuration of its own. Yet we can still distinguish three sub-areas: the North-East, the South-West, and the South-East. Their respective centers, Berlin, Frankfurt, and Vienna, stand out clearly on the map.

The North-East, up to the old German-Slavic frontier of the early Middle Ages which runs roughly along the Elbe and Saale, has been filled by immigrants from the East, chiefly from the incorporated areas of Poznan and West-Prussia, partly—in East-Prussia—from Lithuania and partly—in Leipzig—from Galicia. The Silesian quarter of the original Bohemian-Moravian-Silesian block has been added as a further ingredient. On the whole, however, it can be said that what had been the Western outpost of Polish Jewry around 1800, has been transformed in less than a century into the solid core of German Jewry as we knew it in recent decades. The leaders of German Jewry, from Mendelssohn, Friedlaender, and Riesser to Graetz, Cohen, and Baeck were children of the East. The rabbinical seminaries of Breslau and Berlin were situated in that area. The most significant organizations of German Jewry, the "*Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden*," and the "*Centralverein Deutscher Staatsbuerger Juedischen Glaubens*," were founded by Poznanian Jews in Berlin.

During the 19th century, interchange of commerce (*commercium*) and finally intermarriage (*connubium*) began to increase between the newly formed North-Eastern and the old-established South-Western group of German Jews, which had been widely separated before. On the whole, however, the South-West remained a solid block composed of conservative businessmen who had migrated from the villages to the cities when freedom of trade was declared. They filled Koeln (Cologne), Nuernberg, Munich, Mannheim, Stuttgart, and many smaller places; some of them came to Hamburg and to Berlin. Others went southward to Zuerich and to Milan, still others over seas. The center of the area, however, remained in Frankfurt. This city was not only the financial capital of Continental Europe in the time of the Rothschilds and the mother city of many trading-

posts in foreign lands, but the cultural center of Western Jewry as well. It was there that Samson Raphael Hirsch's Neo-Orthodoxy clashed with the adherents of Abraham Geiger's Reform; it was there that Franz Rosenzweig met Martin Buber. The Reform, Aguda, and "*Lehrhaus*" movements have their roots in Frankfurt.

Furthermore, map 2 indicates that the Jews of Alsace and Lorraine drifted away from South-German Jewry in the course of the 19th century. They were transformed into the backbone of French Jewry and became just as French as the Jews of Poznan had become German. Many rabbinical and lay leaders of French Jewry from David Sinzheim of Strassbourg, the president of Napoleon's Sanhedrin, to Émile Durkheim of Lunéville, the famous sociologist, were either born in Alsace and Lorraine or were descendants of Jews from that region.

A third area of settlement, culturally united with, but politically separated from, the Jews in the "*Reich*," developed in the South-East. Vienna developed into the largest German-speaking Jewish community in Europe with nearly 200,000 Jewish inhabitants in 1925. Its earlier strains of Jewish inhabitants had come predominantly from Bohemia, Moravia, and Hungary for which regions Vienna became the natural center after the rigid exclusion laws of Maria Theresia had been mitigated and finally abolished. Its later strains, however, came from Carpatho-Russia, Galicia, Bukowina, and from countries still farther to the East. This made Vienna one of the most heterogeneous Jewish communities in the world, not even surpassed in that respect by New York, Chicago, and Tel-Aviv. Assimilation and Anti-Semitism reached their high-water marks in Vienna. Let it be added that the Jews of Austria lived in an area of entangled nationality conflicts where no single nationality exercised a clear superiority over all the others, and it will be understood why in the midst

of all these frustrations powerful movements arose which tried to provide a cure to widespread anxieties: Sigmund Freud's and Alfred Adler's psychoanalytic philosophies forming the individualistic wing, Otto Bauer's dogmatic socialism occupying the center, and Nathan Birnbaum's religious nationalism as well as Theodor Herzl's political Zionism presenting a collectivistic solution to a pressing need.

A last word should be said about the movements of migration in the late 19th and the early 20th centuries, all of which passed through German-speaking territories on their way West and South. The Southward movement was largely Polish and Galician, passed through Vienna and embarked at Trieste for Palestine. (The embarkment in Constanza falls outside the Central-European area.) In the last decade the Polish-Galician movement has been joined by a related movement from both North- and South-Germany, which is also indicated on the map. In recent years, thousands of emigrants were forced down the Danube by the Gestapo. The westward movement, on the other hand, was first composed of South- and West-German Jews and only subsequently of Jews from various regions to the East. The movements of Eastern origin reached Zurich, Antwerp, Paris, and London along a Southern and a Northern route. They met the less numerous but more "arrived" West-German Jews there and also, at least in Paris, a group of Sefardic immigrants from French North-Africa. All these groups embarked at various ports of Western Europe, such as Hamburg, Bremen, Rotterdam, Le Havre, London, Southampton, and Liverpool for a still more westward destination, namely the United States of America and other overseas countries. Thus, numerous streams of migration flowed together in one mighty bed, carrying with them more than 5 million fugitives from Middle and Eastern Europe to the shores of more promising continents. They have already

begun to create a Jewish civilization of their own.

IV

The wider significance of German-Jewish history as depicted on our maps may be seen in the fact that it takes place in a focal area where many types and subtypes develop, blend with each other, and crystallize into new forms on their way from East to West and, finally, overseas. A continuation of this fusing and consolidating process, yet on a larger scale, at an accelerated pace, and in a different environment goes on in America, where, for instance, the stubbornly individualistic Jew from West-Germany, a son of capitalists and a grandson of peddlers, meets with the much more collectively determined Jews from the mass settlements of the European East. In Chicago, one can say that the spirit of Highland Park is no less derived from Frankfurt's *Bockenheimer Landstrasse* than the flavor of the Lawndale district from Warsaw's *Nalewski*; and that both cooperate, if still reluctantly, in the administrative offices on North Wells Street.

We must certainly beware of comprehending all this too rigidly. Old-established fences and borders are crumbling down on closer investigation and we discover that various cross-combinations have been in operation for a long time. For instance, the rabbinical intellectual-

ism of urbanized Lithuania, once secularized, combined readily with the philosophical criticism of Prussia while the popular mysticism and moralistic socialism of rural Ukraina and Galicia, anathemized in the North, struck a rather sympathetic chord in Bohemia and Franconia. The same is true of America. The transformation of old-world patterns into American terms and their interpenetration in American life is ascertainable everywhere if one only cares to dig through the incrustation of seemingly fixed images and attitudes. Pragmatism has appealed to the Jewish mind in these decades as Kantianism has done more than a century ago; B'nai B'rith has prepared a middle road among the middle classes; and recent immigration from Central Europe begins to stimulate the breaking of new ground.

It is to be concluded that the emerging Jewish civilization in America cannot be understood unless it is conceived as standing on the shoulders of preceding generations in many lands. Various complementary techniques of clarification and explanation, to be sure, will have to be used to make the multitude of processes more intimately understood by means of which an old epoch of Jewish history closes and a new epoch is ushered in. The maps which we have presented here provide the framework for a story which some time will be told in full.

BOOKS

Panorama of Ancient Letters: Four and a Half Centuries of Hebraica and Judaica (illustrated catalogue), compiled and edited by Mitchell M. Kaplan. Bloch Publishing Co., N.Y., 1942. 316 pp. \$3.00.

On November 19, 1942 an event of importance to Jewish and American scholarship occurred in New York City. Eminent Jewish and Christian scholars, leaders, and educators gathered to inaugurate a library of Judaica and Hebraica at New York University. For the occasion 200 catalogues were prepared, describing part of two collections donated by the well known philanthropist and sculptor, Mr. William Rosenthal, and the noted bibliophile and poet, Dr. Mitchell M. Kaplan.

Panorama of Ancient Letters: Four and a Half Centuries of Hebraica and Judaica, is the title of the catalogue listing Kaplan's donation. This large tome contains bibliographical notes and descriptions illustrated with facsimiles of 300 title pages of incunabulae and other rare books of Hebraica and Judaica, which are a part of the Mitchell M. Kaplan collection (of some 400 items), presented to New York University, through the Jewish Culture Foundation. The foreword and introduction are written by Robert E. Downs, Director of Libraries, and by the Jewish Culture Foundation Director of the University respectively. The book is dedicated to Dean E. George Payne, outstanding educator and friend of the Jews.

The bibliographer will be interested in Kaplan's arrangement of his collection. Both the chronological order and the graphic view of the books offer an opportunity to scholar and layman to familiarize themselves with a literature which covers the period, from the fifteenth century to our present day. It is a panorama of the complete history of Jewish life as well as of the living conditions of the countries in which the Jews happened to be in a given period. And these countries cover practically every corner of the globe.

The reader of the *Panorama of Ancient Letters* will discover old treasures, full of beauty and spiritual wealth. Thus he will find *Questions by Rabbi Saul ha-Cohen of Candia*, written at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and published in Venice in 1574, containing a series of twelve philosophical essays on the fundamentals of the Jewish creed and religion in the form of questions by Saul ha-Cohen and answers by Don Isaac Abravanel, supplemented by a dissertation on parts of Maimonides' classic, *The Guide of the Perplexed*.

The Responsa of Rashba, by Rabbi Solomon ben Abraham Ibn Adret, a rabbinic scholar of thirteenth century Spain (1245-1310), excites one's curiosity. This profound work, published in 1610, consists of almost 3,000 decisions on religious law, with respect to family, civil, and communal affairs. It was written in answer to questions affecting the daily life of the people, and reveals the Jews in their relations to the Christian ethical life and customs of the Middle Ages. *The Responsa* is a source of invaluable material on the authentic history of that period.

Joseph Caro's *Shulchan Aruch*, printed in Amsterdam in 1698 and now in the collection, became the popular authority on Judaism despite the fact that many Ashkenazic rabbis contended against it for a century, because in a measure the work placed too much reliance upon Sephardic authorities. *Shulchan Aruch* was written for those who were not sufficiently educated to understand his *Bet Josef*, another work in the collection, which marked Caro as one of the outstanding Talmudic scholars of all time. However, it was the *Shulchan Aruch* which stamped Caro as the last great codifier of rabbinical Judaism, although he himself considered his *Bet Josef* a much greater work.

Responsa of Ribash, published in 1559 in Riva de-Trenta, is a series of queries and decisions by Isaac ben Sheshet Barfat (1326-1408), noted spiritual leader

and Chief Rabbi of Algiers. The title page states that the book was published by the famous Rabbi Joseph Ottolengo, with his own money; that the verdicts were "the result of long contemplation" in which Rabbi Barfat "meted out punishment to the guilty and justice to the innocent." From these decisions one gleams a vivid picture of the turbulent conditions under which the Jews lived in Algeria, Spain, and neighboring countries.

Peculium Abrae (The Possession of Abraham) a Hebrew grammar, is one of the many fascinating books on philology contained in the *Panorama*. The *Peculium Abrae* was written by Abraham D. Balmis, Doctor of Arts and Medicine, in the 16th century and published in Venice in 1523. It contains, both in Hebrew and Latin, the various meanings and nuances of Hebrew words. It also explains the grammar and syntax of the Hebrew language.

A gigantic work, frequently reprinted in the abridged form, is *Shene Lufot Haberit* by the noted rabbi and cabbalist Isaiah Horowitz. He was born in Prague in 1555 and is popularly known as "Shelah ha-Kadosh" (The Holy One). The title of the book indicates that it was intended to be a compendium of the Jewish religion. At least ten editions of the book have been printed.

Isaiah Horowitz made frequent reference to the works of Isaac Luria, another famed cabbalist and founder of the Lurian Cabala. Luria, born in Jerusalem in 1534, wrote the "Primordial Man," the manuscript of which is in the library. The work deals with the cabbalistic idea of the primitive man and the ten spheres.

Another outstanding example of historic value is a book called *Regulations*, published in Venice, in 1664. This is a remarkable document in double columns, one in Hebrew, the other in Italian translation which contains rules and regulations for the marriage of girls, as fixed with governmental approval by the elders of an Italian Jewish community in Leantini, Italy. Of interest also are the method of nominating and electing officers, the moral and social conditions of the times, and the democratic manner of Jewish living.

Shebet Yehudah (Judah's Rod) by Doctor Solomon ben Verga, published in Amsterdam in 1708, describes the persecutions of the Jews from 62 B.C. to

1647-48, particularly in Spain and Portugal. The author claims to have gathered evidence from various original sources as well as from his own personal experiences. The book also recounts religious debates between Jews and Christians, and affords a vivid description of the Holy Temple, and of the relations between Cleopatra and the Jews.

Of interest are the numerous debates between Jews and Christians that were held in the presence of kings and popes. The debates and dialogues are written in a brilliant style, full of humor and anecdotes. It is worthwhile comparing Lessing's story of the three rings in *Nathan the Wise* with that told in *Shebet Yehudah* about the Jewish scholar, Isaac Shangu, when he was asked by the King of Aragon, Don Pedro III, (1275-1285) to state which religion he considered superior, Jewish or Christian. His first reply was that Judaism was better for the Jews, Christianity for the Christians since each religion has its own intrinsic significance. His second reply was the parable about a neighbor of his who went on a distant journey, leaving behind two precious stones for his two sons. The two brothers asked the relater of the tale to evaluate the two stones. His reply was that only one person was qualified to appraise them: the father who was both artisan and donor. The brothers, disapproving of such an answer, assaulted him. Likewise, Jacob and Esau were two sons of God who presented a religion in the form of two jewels. Thus, only God, the creator and donor, could evaluate the superiority of these religions. Undoubtedly, Lessing learned his parable from Mendelssohn and embodied it in his famous drama.

Vast material written in Latin by Christians for Christians only, on topics dealing with Judaism, the Hebrew language, Jewish history, the Bible, as well as translations from commentaries and exegeses had a great influence on Western civilization. Campegius Vitringa's book *De Synagoga Vetere*, published in Italy in 1726 in three volumes, is still one of the best treatises on the synagogue; its origin, structure, leaders, ministers, holy rites, the Sanhedrin, and laws of ordination. The author emphasizes the importance of the Talmud as documentary evidence for history, and shows the influence of the synagogue on the Christian church.

Moses Maimonides' *Book of Sacrifices* and his tract on *The Calendar* in Latin, bound together with Abravanel's commentary on Leviticus, written in both Hebrew and Latin, were published in London in 1683 and translated into the Latin with notes by Ludovicus de Campiegne de Veil.

Another of the great Hebrew scholars to be translated was Yehudah Halevi, born in Spain in 1085. His *Kusari*, written originally in Judaeo-Arabic, appeared not only in Hebrew but in Latin, Spanish, German, and French. All of these translations are part of the Jewish Culture Foundation library.

Halevi, the greatest Hebrew poet since biblical times, was a philosopher of note as well. In his *Kusari* he discusses the tenets of Judaism, its historical basis; the nature of piety and prayer; the need for the Jews to have a national life and independence. To Halevi, Israel amidst the nations was like a heart among the other organs of the body, first in suffering and first also in healing. Krochmal, Hess, Pinsker and Ahad Ha'am lean heavily upon the spiritual nourishment provided by the literary giant of more than 800 years ago.

Another important book is *Commentaries* by Solomon ben Isaac of Troyes, known as Rashi, born in France in 1040 and one of the greatest commentators on the Old Testament and the Talmud. *Commentaries* are of particular significance because they not only had a vast influence on Jewish life but an indirect influence on the Christian world. The French Monk Nicolas de Lyre, who relied on Rashi's biblical works to compile his tome *Postillae Perpetuae*, in turn influenced Martin Luther's translations of the Bible into German. The *Commentaries* in the collection are a Latin translation from the Hebrew, accompanied by notes and comparisons with the original manuscript and philological comments edited by Johann Friedrich Breithaupt. It was published in 1710 in Gotha.

Another important book is *Hebrew Principles (Rudimenta Hebraica)*, written in Latin by the great scholar and humanist, Johannan von Reuchlin (1455-1522) and published in Germany in 1505. Reuchlin was the first Christian scholar to introduce the study of Hebrew into a university curriculum of Western Europe. He was instrumental in influencing the Emperor Maximilian of Germany to re-

scind a decree, which Pfefferkorn, the baptized Jew of Cologne, had succeeded in obtaining from him, ordering the destruction of all Jewish books in Cologne and Frankfurt, as being anti-Christian. Reuchlin maintained that it was disadvantageous to the church to burn all Jewish writings. As for the Talmud, the real bone of Dominican contention, Reuchlin said: "Most of its detractors were ignorant of it (the Talmud); therefore instead of burning it, they should study it."

When the many books contained in this new library will be consulted and translated, there is no question that infinitely more will be known about Europe and European Jewry during the Dark Ages than is known at present.

ABRAHAM I. KATSH

The World of Sholem Aleichem, by Maurice Samuel. New York: Knopf, 1943. \$2.50.

The twenty-odd Yiddish volumes which compose the works of Sholem Aleichem are the blueprints of a Jewish world not so long departed, yet as alien to the American grandchildren of the Jews of that world as the pigmies of darkest Africa. These books constitute a record of the distinct way of life developed by the Jews in the Russian Pale during the 1880's. In Sholem Aleichem's depiction of Kasrielevky—the Middletown of Russian Jewry—is contained the history of a Jewish civilization that flourished in the jungle of Czarist oppression, retreated with the invasion of the Haskalah Movement, disintegrated with the Exodus to America, and died in the Russian Revolution.

In *The World of Sholem Aleichem*, Maurice Samuel has reconstructed in vivid and impeccable English, this now extinct life that Sholem Aleichem reproduced in Yiddish. Mr. Samuel is eminently qualified to have undertaken this task for he has previously proved himself an adept translator of Yiddish and German. However, to dispel any misconceptions that may have arisen, it must be pointed out that it is not in the role of translator, nor as an interpreter that Samuel presents himself. Certainly there are tales and anecdotes included in the book, and these are presented in translation of the expressively idiomatic Yiddish

of Sholem Aleichem which is as excellent as the difficult circumstances permit.

What Maurice Samuel has done is to re-read the collected works with a devout and loving faith possible only in great works of art. From them he has extracted the essential verity of their imaginative realism, and in a clear and entertaining manner, he has recreated and peopled anew the old world of the Eastern European Jew. Not Sholem Aleichem, the man, nor the artist, is the thesis of the book, but the town of Kasrievky proper, "the townlet of the little folk," the microcosm of the Jewish Pale.

Here we meet again "the little people" with a universal outlook; miserable but patient; hated—but loving. We renew acquaintance with Tevyeh the Dairyman, the Prince of the Paupers, the apotheosis of the ordinary Jew, the luckless one on whom a besought and overworked God casts his good eye only once in a lifetime, and then only to raise Tevyeh to a position meriting the greater misfortunes that test his devotion. Tevyeh, the supreme malapropist with his incongruous associations of Yiddish and Hebrew quotations, mangling the meaning of the scriptural phrase, *Imru Lelohim*, "Tell it to the Lord," with the uncanny insight in the vernacular of *Red tzu der vant*, "You might as well talk to the wall."

And Tevyeh's wife, Goldie, the simple, the railing, warm-hearted, much-suffering, who died, her children gone, wondering in a small weak voice, "Who'll cook supper for you?" The heart-breaking daughters of Tevyeh, one lost to the revolution; "Another married to a gentile, and divided from him for ever; a third the wife of a wretched swindler; a fourth a suicide because of a hopeless love-affair."

And Menachem Mendel, the *Luftmensch*, the speculator, "the *schlimihl* of the exchange, the wild man from whose dreams of sudden riches and pyramided finances God guard us all," who is not Tevyeh's relative, thank God! but Goldie's, and then only a cousin several times safely removed. One must not forget the children of Kasrievky who, although neglected by their parents, inherited a special portion in the "true text." The peregrinations of Mottel Peysse's the Cantor's Son; the ineffable story, *The Penknife*; the innocent idyll of Feitel, the Jewish boy, and Fedka, the son of a peasant anti-Semite; the unbounded

pranks of L'Og B'Omer; and the beautiful love between little Shimik and little Esther are recalled.

In fact, all Kasrievky is here, the community that was one large family. And also the world at large, Boiberik, Yehupetz, Berditchev, Anatevka, and occasionally a letter from that distant planet, America.

Maurice Samuel also recalls that one blot on Kasrievky's escutcheon, its feud with the Jews of the neighboring village of Kozodoievka. With what spite and rancour this vendetta endured for over a generation! And what, you ask, was the reason for this unseemly behavior. No, it was not a matter of which town would represent Jewry at the next Versailles Conference; it was only a matter of order.

To the Kasrievkite, coming into the synagogue for the morning services, *Shachris*, it was in the natural order of things to begin with the prayer, "Give thanks unto the Lord and call upon His name." Then he followed up with the prayer beginning: "Blessed be He who spoke and the world was in being." To the equally pious Jew of Kozodoievka it was in the accepted order of things to be contrariwise. He would begin with "Blessed be He," and follow with "Give thanks unto the Lord." Yes, the antagonists were finally reconciled, not by the Hague Court, but by the townsfolk themselves, without a word, when they met halfway on the desolate road between the two villages, both fleeing from the Kishineff pogroms.

Much has been written of that unique element of Sholem Aleichem's humor, "laughter with tears," a quality fundamental in Jewish humor, and brought to its finest expression in Sholem Aleichem. This perfect blending of comedy and sobriety, of intimate irreverence to God and of the supreme sacrifice for Him in *Kiddush Ha-Shem*, has given Sholem Aleichem a supreme rank. It is this excellence which has prevented others from attempting or claiming to duplicate or even imitate his style.

Despite this repute, Samuel has succeeded yet, in maintaining in his own book the individual tone and singular flavor of his fictional sources. By frequently disregarding quotation marks, Samuel was able to shift from his own history of Kasrievky to Sholem

Aleichem's, and back again, without interfering with the easy flow of his story. Where this practice would have been criminal in a formal dissertation, it has been used here modestly, with good taste and forbearance, and is instrumental in resurrecting the world of Sholem Aleichem with such fidelity.

If a reviewer must find something to carp about, let it be this: that an index would in no way mislead anyone from reading the entire book. Consideration for the cuisine, ceremonies, customs, and characters of Sholem Aleichem's departed world, if not the convenience of the interested reader, should warrant the inclusion of a full subject and title index in any forthcoming edition.

There is great need for books like this, replete but not erudite, reminiscent, and instructive in a light-hearted way, which transmute past roots into living and meaningful patterns. The second generation of American Jewry is growing up, having forsaken both native tongues, Yiddish and Hebrew. With them, it has lost the components as well as the continuity of a tradition, that, whatever its defects, gave the Jew of yesterday his *raison d'être* in the struggle for cultural identity.

Perhaps that is what American Jewry has needed: A Sholem Aleichem to relieve our inescapable tears with laughter; and Kasrielevky, not New York, nor Chicago where Sabbaths and festivals

"leave the world around you utterly unchanged from the week-days. The shops are open, the market-place is filled, the horses neigh, buyers and sellers chaffer, the El or the surface car thunders past the synagogue, and the Sabbath siesta is a day-mare in a din of blaring radios and yelling children playing baseball in the street."

The spirit of this quotation does not necessarily imply that *The World of Sholem Aleichem* is a recall of Jews to a ghettoed and fanatic cubicle of a past day. Samuel is innocent of any such program, but his book does carry the nostalgia of a lost unity, and serves as a disturbing reminder of a Jewish world in which spiritual solvency and communal integration once prevailed.

ALLEN D. SCHWARTZ

The Black Book of Poland, by the Polish Ministry of Information. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1942. 615 pp. \$3.00.

On July 9, 1942, Poland's prime minister turned over to the Polish National Council in London a formidable array of documents proving the deliberate murder by the Nazis of more than 400,000 Poles of all faiths. Among these documents are eyewitness accounts of all types, reports by high churchmen, notes of escaped refugees, German official and unofficial press comments, revealing photographs of the terror, and other material of high historical trustworthiness. We, in 1943, are already aware of the fact that this nightmare of persecution has certainly exceeded the horrors of a year ago, especially so for the entire Jewish community of Nazi-occupied Europe. These are no mere Belgian atrocities of the questionable vintage of 1914; the evidence as to accuracy regarding Hitler's terror is far too overwhelming and stands as a historical indictment of Nazi *kultur*.

The documents on the whole, are allowed to speak for themselves. In systematic order, the endless reports are reproduced of mass deportations, wholesale executions, sadistic tortures, the deliberate extermination of the Jews, the eradication of religion and the murder of countless churchmen. Brutal raids, round-ups of the innocent, relentless man-hunts, and the barbaric practices of Hitler's hostage system fill the book. Repetitious stories, save for changes in names and places, deal with the rape of women, their recruitment for brothels, farm slavery, and even mass sterilization experiments. Poison gas enabled the Nazis to remove mental patients and crippled persons from desired public buildings. Poles are compelled to become blood donors for their German enemies; Polish patriots are shot for the slightest evidence of resentment toward the invader.

Bitter as is the lot of the Christian Pole, that of the Jew is infinitely worse. The crowded ghettos of Warsaw and Lodz set up by the Nazis are a living hell of pestilence, hunger, and personal degradation. Six to ten Jews share a room; their food rations are a fraction of the meager rations for the Christian Pole. The Nazis overlook no possibility to strengthen the latent Polish anti-Semitism by using Jews in blasphemous or traitor-

ous roles such as destroying religious images and hacking down the statues of illustrious Polish heroes. The only hope, apparently, for the Jews to survive until an allied victory rescues them is that the self-interest of the Nazis, particularly their desperate need of manpower, may preserve those of working age in the labor camps. Some 39% of the Polish Jews were absorbed in 1939 by the Soviet Union and these, presumably, are safe. Others may have escaped into Soviet territory.

It is no exaggeration for literary effect to say that these documentary accounts prove that a twentieth century people—the Nazis—have actually outstripped the historic brutalities of Attila's Huns and Genghis Khan's Mongols. The makers of the post-war world who now contemplate the re-education of Hitler's Reich, would do well to include an abridged version of this book in the future German school libraries. Let the full consciousness of guilt rest upon the minds of those nationalistic Germans who survive this war of their own making.

HARVEY WISH

Soviet Russia's Foreign Policy 1939-1942. By David J. Dallin. Translated by Leon Dennen. Yale University Press. 1942. 459 pp. \$3.75.

This book is a careful and conscientious study of Soviet Russia's foreign policy during the fateful years 1939-1942. The author, a Russian émigré, with a pronounced liberal and radical political background, adheres consistently to the principle of maximum objectivity. One might even accuse him, at times, of leaning backwards in this respect. He has carefully utilized all available official documents and publications, but in many instances had to rely on newspaper material and the like. Herein, unavoidably, lies the inherent weakness of any work dealing with contemporary events. Yet barring this limitation, it is difficult to find much one could seriously criticize in this book.

Mr. Dallin believes that the guiding principles of Russia's Foreign Policy were evolved in the 1920's. During the stormy years 1917-1920, in the midst of civil war and foreign intervention Russia pinned her hopes on a proletarian revolution in

Europe and her foreign policy was directed accordingly. But all such movements abroad proved abortive. The Comintern in Moscow suffered one disappointment after another. Internally the country had to face famine, disease, and utter chaos of economic conditions. And so Lenin by introducing his New Economic Policy (NEP) had to admit that proletarian revolution abroad could not be expected in the near future. It is true that many of the Communist leaders found it hard to adjust themselves to this new orientation. The Stalin-Trotsky conflict with all its numerous ramifications, some of which were not liquidated until the years just before the war, was to a large extent a struggle between those who could not abandon the idea of World-Revolution in the near future, and those who wished to devote all attention to the building up of Russia's internal strength and resources. In this conflict Stalin scored a decisive victory. Under his guidance Russia entered into numerous treaties and agreements with European and Asiatic nations and finally became one of the most active members of the League of Nations. There is no question that throughout this period Russia's main endeavour was to promote peace, peace that was so essential to her at that time. While adhering to this line of Foreign Policy internally Russia continued to feel herself a country apart, the only socialist power in the world, and internally at least this unique situation was never forgotten. Thus we see the birth of a new nationalism—the so-called socialist nationalism which theoretically at least contains no elements of imperialism.

When Hitler came to power and began his anti-communist campaign, Russia naturally shifted her favor and her hopes to the Franco-English block. What then of the events of 1939? Dallin believes that here, too, Russia behaved in a manner true to her principles. Her foreign policy based on principles of strict realism, Russia for a number of reasons believed that France and England, in the existing situation, could not offer her effective help against Germany. In other words Russia feared that she would have to bear the brunt of fighting against a powerful adversary and for this she did not feel ready. The Allies, on their side, were reluctant to grant Russia all the safeguards she desired.

In view of the serious character of Russo-Polish relations at the present time it might be interesting to examine in somewhat greater detail what the author has to say on this subject. It seems hardly open to doubt that at the time of the ill-fated Allied negotiations with Russia in the summer of 1939 Poland showed herself reluctant to accede to certain demands of Russia, for instance the granting of permission for Russian troops to enter Polish territory in case of German attack. This reluctance was due not only to the fear of communism entertained by the Polish Government, but even more so to unfortunate but nevertheless real antagonism and hostility which has existed between the two countries for centuries and which had flared up again in the Russo-Polish war of 1920. In any case, from the Polish point of view, the Russian invasion of Eastern Poland was an act of aggression and consequently a state of war existed officially between Poland and Russia until the German attack on Russia. A large number of Polish soldiers and officers found themselves in prisoners' camps and a large number of refugees were sent to scattered and distant points of Russia.

Almost immediately after the resumption of relations between the two countries Russia proposed the establishment of an entirely new frontier line to be based on ethnographical principles. To this the Polish Government could not agree, and the whole question was left open for settlement after the war. These demands of Russia caused a crisis within the ranks of Poles abroad, and a growing anti-Russian feeling began to develop in certain Polish circles. The Russians have since then on several occasions reiterated their territorial claims including among them the important cities of Lwow, Wilno, and Pinsk.

Thus when Germany offered a treaty of non-aggression, Russia was quite willing, even though—in all probability—her leaders had no illusions as to the permanency of such an arrangement. The main point is, however, that in the Summer of 1939 a treaty with Germany ensured a definite period of peace, which Russia badly needed at the time. Having secured this peace Russia certainly took all possible measures for her own defense. Among these must be counted the occu-

pation of the territories of Eastern Poland, the annexation of the Baltic Countries, the war with Finland, the occupation of Bessarabia, and last of all, but of great importance, the signing of a non-aggression treaty with Japan. All these steps have to be regarded as defensive measures, directed against Germany. Germany recognized this very well, but had to bide her time as she was busy in the West. But we can see how, after the collapse of France, the German attitude towards this territorial expansion of Russia, gradually began to stiffen. Hitler once again decided that he had to strike against Russia and started systematic preparations. There is excellent evidence, which the reader will find in this book, that Moscow was well informed of these preparations. In any case the Russians, during this period, brought their measures of defense to an absolute maximum of intensity. Externally, however, they continued to play the game of strict adherence to the letter of the treaties concluded with Germany. And so when Germany finally attacked Russia in June 1941, Stalin and Molotov could point to the fact that Russia had remained faithful to her obligations and that she was fighting a purely defensive war. There is little question that this factor—defense against an unprovoked and treacherous attack—greatly helped to unite all elements of Russia's population.

There were also considerable difficulties with the Polish army formed from the contingents of Polish soldiers captured in September 1939. These troops never were sent to the Russo-German front and finally were evacuated to the Middle East. We are told that a large number of Polish officers was never accounted for and this fact was cleverly utilized by German propaganda, which claimed that they had been executed by the Russians. There is no doubt that there are very considerable difficulties in the way of a friendly understanding between the two countries and that this will prove one of the toughest questions to settle after the war.

Much attention is given to the question of Russo-Japanese relations. Prophecies are hazardous, but I think that the reader who carefully studies Dallin's material will be able to come to a definite conclusion of his own on this subject.

GEORGE BOBRINSKOY

David, by Duff Cooper. Harper & Brothers, Publishers in association with Cooperation Publishing Company, Inc., New York and London, 1943. 292 pp. \$3.00.

According to Stefan Zweig's autobiography, *The World of Yesterday*, the octogenarian Sigmund Freud had come to regret having published *Moses and Monotheism* in which he presented Moses as a non-Jew and Egyptian, in the most terrible hour of world-Jewry: "Now that everything is being taken from them," he said to his fellow-refugee Zweig in London, "I had to go and take their best man!" As though he wished to compensate us for the grief caused by the psychoanalyst's work among both orthodox and nationalist Jews, that outstanding Britisher, Duff Cooper, now bestows upon us such a masterful and human presentation of David, king of Israel as must make our hearts leap with joy. Even if there is not the slightest actual connection between the publication of the two books, Duff Cooper's dedication of his volume to the Jewish people "to whom the world owes the Old and the New Testaments and much else in the realms of beauty and knowledge, a debt that has been ill repaid" is significant enough.

The Right Honorable Alfred Duff Cooper has long been a sincere friend of the Jewish people. Like his chief, Winston Churchill—as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster Duff Cooper is a member of the Churchill Government—he strongly favors the idea of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. Like Churchill, he is outstanding as a soldier, a politician, a public speaker, a journalist and a writer. Before writing this book, he had already two biographies to his credit: one on Prince Talleyrand, and another on Field Marshall Haig. But those books were scholarly studies in the realm of diplomacy and military leadership, respectively, while his latest work, though based on painstaking research, reads like a novel, despite its being a contribution to serious historiography.

In a way, it is not astonishing that a son of the British nation should be attracted by such a thrilling Biblical figure as David. This reviewer's observations showed him that the average Briton is more thoroughly acquainted with the Scripture than the average member of the very tribe that once produced David.

There exist numerous poetical versions of David's life in English literature, among them the late Sir James Matthew Barrie's play *The Boy David* which thrilled the Londoners, with Elizabeth Bergner starring in the title role. But when it comes to non-fictional presentations of the subject that is, biographies, one cannot help wondering how and why so many writers ventured to compete with the Bible which narrates the story of "the Beloved" in such a magnificent manner in the first Book of Samuel, the first Book of Kings and the first Book of Chronicles, that it puts all modern artistry to shame.

"In a literary point of view," Harriet Beecher-Stowe admitted in her introduction to the Reverend Charles Beecher's *Life of David* (1861) "it might not be wise to touch at all the rugged and simple narrative as it stands in our Bible. But," she defended her brother as well as all other of David's biographers in the past and in the future, "it is sometimes useful, in the way of explanation, when one set of words have worn smooth by use, so as to leave no trace in the mind, to employ another set, even though not so good, by way of restoring and deepening the original impression. A paraphrase may be compared to the chisel with which Old Mortality restored the effaced inscriptions on the tombstones of the martyrs." (She referred, of course, to Walter Scott's novel, *Old Mortality*, the title character of which, an itinerant antiquary, has a mania for preserving and cleaning inscriptions on tombstones.)

Religiously minded readers, Jews and Christians alike, will grant that Duff Cooper has done an admirable piece of work in "restoring and deepening the original impression" of the Biblical story, the memory of which may have become dim even in the minds of the faithful. On the other hand, those to whom David is simply a very interesting personality, like Pericles or Frederick Barbarossa, and who define biography as "the history of an individual conceived as a work of art," will praise the book as an effort to convey to the sceptical reader of our days the most wonderfully thrilling case history of all times.

This biography differs mainly from its predecessors by the author's peculiar approach to his subject. He is neither a Fundamentalist believing in the literal

truth of every line in the Bible, nor an iconoclastic radical rejecting all Biblical characters as myths. Supported by recent discoveries of the archaeologists which seem to corroborate the historic accuracy of the Bible, Duff Cooper treats David and his contemporaries as historical personalities, without taking sides with either party. He refrains from following established patterns; to him, David is neither a "brigand and hypocrite," as he appeared to Renan, nor a "saintly hero incapable of a base action or an ignoble thought," as portrayed by Dieulafoy, but a fallible human being like other men, a great lover and a great hater. Nor did he succumb to the debunking spirit of twentieth century writers, like Elmer Davis who, in his *Giant Killer*, went so far as to deny that it was David who killed Goliath.

As to the method applied, Duff Cooper undertook to present the old story in a literary form palatable to modern taste, allowing imagination "to fill up some gaps in the narrative as we possess it" and elaborating the portraits of individuals while "endeavoring always to be faithful to the indications supplied by the original sources." He appeases orthodox Jews and Christians, however: "In no way have I written anything that is in contradiction to the Scripture, and in no way have I put spoken words into the mouth of any of the characters that are not accurate quotations from the Bible."

David necessarily is a psychological study: "Throughout his life his cold proud intellect despised the criticism of the ignorant, but his sensitive, artistic nature suffered from it, and many of the apparent contradictions in his character were due to the influence of these conflicting emotions." These contradictions in David's character became more apparent in his later life. Consequently, the case history of the king is of greater human interest than that of the shepherd and giant-killer, so that a reproduction of Rembrandt's imaginative conception of the middle-aged, severely tried man David would have been more appropriate for the jacket than Michelangelo's Apollo-like youth. Therefore, in the second half of the book Duff Cooper can best display his art of psychological portraiture.

The most moving chapter of the book

is the one dealing with David's love affair with Bathsheba, her husband's removal by the king's order, and the royal murderer's subsequent spiritual suffering and repentance. The author seeks to explain, not to justify David's complete loss of self-control, by asserting that Uriah was a dull, narrow-minded fellow who had no consideration for his wife who was by far his superior. But the prophet Nathan makes the king realize that he had sinned against the Lord, not primarily because he had committed adultery and murder, but because of the meanness and cruelty of his action.

Alas, this was not the only instance in David's life when "he had no pity" but was blinded by greed, ambition, or vindictiveness. Yet it is not the brilliant strategist and organizer, the spiritual originator of the Temple, the founder of a dynasty which lasted five hundred years, nor even the divine singer of the Psalms who attracted the writers and artists throughout the ages as much as the hapless fighter against his own conflicting emotions. Describing the various phases of this less conspicuous, but, nevertheless, very violent battle, Duff Cooper does not plead for our forgiveness, for he presents us with the story of a man, not of a would-be-saint: "How flat and fatuous would be the portrait of this great man," he summarizes, "if all the shadows were eliminated. If there had been no evil in his heart, could we feel as we can feel to-day, after three thousand years, that here was a human being, of like passions to our own, but on a grander scale than most?"

Gathered around David and as brilliantly portrayed as the main hero are the other personalities of this Golden Age of Israel: the cunning politician Samuel, the paranoiac King Saul, his daughter Michal, who despised David for dancing before the people, hapless Jonathan, David's rebellious sons, his concubine Abishag, the generals Abner and Job and many other dramatis personae revolving around David as the planets revolve around the sun. Duff Cooper also gives an impressive picture of the background, of the land and people of Israel in the era between 1060 B.C. and 970 B.C.

ALFRED WERNER

Our Jewish Farmers, by Gabriel Davidson. 280 pp. L. B. Fisher, New York. \$2.50.

The average reader who knows little about Jewish farming, will find this well-written and well-documented history of the Jewish Agricultural Society most revealing and instructive; while the student of the recent Jewish "back to the soil" movement will indeed be grateful for this first attempt to present in book form and for ready reference the hitherto scattered material on the subject. This is also a timely book, for it eloquently refutes the current charges about Jewish inability to "toil and till," by presenting a full-size picture of the Jew as a successful farmer and agricultural scientist in twentieth-century America.

The author is exceptionally equipped to deal with the saga of Jewish settlement on American farmlands, not only because of his position as executive director of the national organization which helped the expansion of Jewish farmers from 1,000 to 100,000 people in the course of four decades, but also because of his careful study of past history ever since the first attempt to settle Jews on American land made in 1820 by Mordecai Manuel Noah of Buffalo. He thus draws from practical experience as a colonizer no less than from the archives of the many agricultural ventures of the 80's and 90's which are all but forgotten or little known to readers of our times. The result is a readable, scholarly, and useful book.

Mr. Davidson does well to begin his story with ample reference to Biblical literature, demonstrating therefrom that the roots of Jewish culture and religion go back to a pastoral and agrarian way of life. In fact, he might have added that the Bible became to many a modern Jew the one great influence in his return to the soil and to nature—this being the essence of the Hebrew Renaissance. He dwells briefly, though adequately, on the background of the first great wave of Russian-Jewish immigration to America in the early eighties, and proceeds to sketch the history of the Jewish Agricultural Society, which took over the work of the Jewish Colonization Association (JCA) and the Baron de Hirsch Fund, both of which endeavored to colonize the Jewish immigrants on the land. From small tasks in its formative years before

the First World War, the Society continued to develop and expand, serving realistically and soberly the farm-minded immigrant during a crucial period that spans two World Wars, a major depression, and the constructive decade of refugee resettlement.

The story speaks for itself, and one has no cause to argue with the presentation of facts. It is, however, with Chapter VI describing the situation "today" and the conclusions that follow, that we pass to controversial and debatable ground. Mr. Davidson here presents a composite picture which might have been most encouraging, if statistical data were the whole story. He speaks with satisfaction of a "Jewish farm class," numbering 109,600 souls, in possession of over one million dollars. Compared to the dwindling state of Jewish colonies in Argentine and Western Canada, or even the Soviet government sponsored Biro-Bidjan territory with its 12,000 struggling settlers, the picture in America is glorious indeed. But there are a few more details in this picture that cause the more thoughtful reader to pause and reflect on the soundness of "our Jewish farming class" and its future.

Thus for example we see from the sociological survey that this widely scattered community, which is merely 2% of America's five million Jews, is composed for the most part of a generation that is no longer young. Moreover, only 37% of the second generation have remained on the farm, while the other 63% have already turned back to professional and typical middle-class Jewish occupations, or at best remained in agriculture as government employees or professors in the agricultural sciences.

It becomes clear to any one who refuses to be comforted by the long list of individual Jews who "made good" in agriculture, that the future of Jewish farming as a class or social group is highly questionable. Yet the author seems to be strangely undisturbed by these facts. He visualizes this group "growing in number, adding to their acreage and preparing to make their fullest contribution to the basic economy of this blessed land of hope and opportunity."

This brings us to the major fault of this otherwise well-written and scholarly book. It treats the development of Jewish farm-

ing as if it were an isolated phenomenon in modern Jewish life, as if its pioneers were not moved by the same zeal that brought the Biluim and Halutzim to Palestine and caused others to settle in Argentine or far away Saskatchewan. The author still clings to the policy of the philanthropic JCA, from which his organization has inherited the belief "the development of exclusively Jewish farm settlement" would "retard Americanization" and that "Jews have succeeded in farming as individuals—not as members of organized colonies" (p. 162). Recent Jewish history has proved otherwise, and unless Jewish colonizers and social thinkers will consider and integrate these historical insights, their achievements in this country will not be more enduring than the rapidly emptied Jewish colonies elsewhere. Jewish farming without social idealism or strong national consciousness may be prosperous for the individual, but inevitably it leads to national suicide and utter assimilation. Fortunately the trend in American Jewish life is now in the other direction.

YOSEF WILFAND

The Fall of Paris, by Ilya Ehrenburg.
Alfred A. Knopf, N. Y. 529 pp. \$3.00.

The last decade immediately preceding the war produced much writing that was either photographically exact or substantially true of conditions inside European countries; we read things that came from accredited ambassadors or casual impressions of hurried travelers. And for years, daily radio broadcasts helped us form our conclusions.

The secret archives of a beaten Germany or the reminiscences of an especially bloodthirsty villain, now in power, will yield some day details of crimes of which we know as yet nothing. In the main, however, we are familiar with the machinations of the thugs who ruled in various European capitals and engineered the catastrophe. We know the political set-up in Rumania, Bulgaria, Poland,

Italy, and Hungary. And we know what happened in France.

Ilya Ehrenburg writes for us the French part of the European debacle, and, under assumed names, limns for us Blum, Daladier, Bonnet, Petain, and other French leaders of the time prior to Hitler's march into Paris.

Ehrenburg's story begins with the days preceding the Popular Front era and ends with the surrender of the French armies; the leit-motif of the novel is the distrust of the mass of the French people by the rich and the politically powerful and the eagerness of the mighty to sabotage their country's chances to survive as an independent nation, rather than give power to the workers.

A revoltingly repulsive lot of opportunists in whose hands reposed the destiny of their country, parades before the reader . . . representatives of a venal press; assassins who killed for gain and glory; confused citizens whom events were to lead to slavery or to slaughter. And also a relatively new element in French politics—the Communist party and its leadership. Only these stand out unsullied from the smeared canvas that is France. The entire volume is a study in black and white—the difference between Tessa, the unscrupulous, skilful politician, who had nearly all political power that France can delegate to an individual, and Michaud, the factory worker, the consistently loyal Frenchman, a Communist, who in the telling of Ehrenburg is typical of a layer of society that someday will rebuild a France worthy of that name.

The Fall of Paris is a solid job of conscientious writing; there is, however, in the book much of the stuff known as special pleading. And because of Ehrenburg's preoccupation with his thesis we felt little sense of intimacy with the people, the Frenchmen the author is concerned with; these are obscured by the chief figures in the novel. Important, therefore, as *The Fall of Paris* is as a work of art, as a social document it is inadequate.

BENJAMIN WEINTROUB

S U P P O R T

THE CHICAGO JEWISH FORUM

Subscription: \$5.00 a year. - 188 West Randolph Street, Chicago

. . . . and a victorious new year

PAUL G. ANNES

I predict for THE CHICAGO JEWISH FORUM on its first anniversary an ever growing audience and added opportunities in the realm of decent journalism.

ADOLPH BRAUN

The seeds of fascism are to be found in the United States, as well as in Europe. In purging Germany and Italy of evil let us not forget ourselves.

SAMUEL BYRON

Let us resolve in the cause of an early victory, that on the home front nothing is left undone that would strengthen the spirit of our armed forces.

OSCAR S. CAPLAN,

Judge of the Municipal Court

In these critical times more than ever we must seek from the history of our beloved land confidence in the glorious future of our commonwealth.

ARTHUR X. ELROD

Men are waging battle so that human rights prevail and triumph. Let us, here, do our utmost to hasten an early victory.

EMIL S. FRIEDMAN

In these arduous times, the magnificent morale of the American people stems from an unshakable conviction that their cause is just.

JACOB L. FRIEDMAN,

Trustee, Sanitary District

It augurs well for the cause of the United Nations that the fighting leadership of the United States is in competent and trustworthy hands.

ALEX M. GOLMAN

May the New Year find us more determined than ever to strengthen the arm of Uncle Sam in his championship of decency on earth.

RALPH LEE GOODMAN

In these strenuous times in the exercise of our prerogatives as free citizens to choose our leadership may it be that the welfare of our country rather than party labels guide our conscience and judgment.

S. P. GURMAN, *Alderman, 40th Ward*

In the fact that Franklin Delano Roosevelt is President of the United States reposes the best reason that Nazism and Fascism are doomed.

A. PAUL HOLLEB

I congratulate THE CHICAGO JEWISH FORUM upon the uniform excellency of its contents. May it always seek to repeat and to surpass its best.

S. JESMER

It is in our steadfast devotion to the tradition of Americanism that we may best express our loyalty to the cause for which the United Nations fight.

CHARLES E. KAYE

May it soon dawn that the horrible plight of European Jewry is a nightmare that is no more. Let us embrace opportunities that would hasten that moment.

DAVID SAUL KLAFTER

We should all be immeasurably proud of the privilege of being Americans; let us live in a manner deserving of that honor.

GEORGE S. LAVIN

Let us, who are a free people, bring freedom to the oppressed and to the enslaved. In the fascist countries there are many such who await our liberating armies.

JACOB LEVIN

Always it was that in man's fight for survival or the good way of life the slightest advancements have been bitterly costly. March forward however we must whatever the price.

... and ... a victorious new year

DR. NATHAN D. LIEBERFARB

May THE FORUM persist in championing precepts of culture and may it find cause in the year to come to rejoice in man's march to freedom.

JOSEPH LIPSHUTZ

May deep and abiding faith in the soundness of American institutions and traditions of Judaism serve THE FORUM as the surest guide for public service.

HARRY MALKIN,

Assistant Judge of the Probate Court

Militant democracy and genuine Americanism must seek and find ways to help insure victory for the Allies.

MAX MANISCHEWITZ

We must never slacken efforts to do our own utmost and to enlist the aid of civilized people to bring quick and decisive aid to tortured Jewry overseas.

HARRY MARCUS

The meaning and the essence of good citizenship lies in the practice of the principles of democracy.

JUDGE JULIUS H. MINER

Both the spirit and the letter of *Laws* would be meaningless but for man's intense desire that they serve as rules of action in civilized society.

LEO M. NELLIS, *Russian War Relief*

In our admiration of the magnificent deeds of the Russian armies, we must be mindful also of the suffering of the people and their need of war relief.

SAMUEL PEARL

No mission too small and no task however humble shall be shirked or denied the goal of which is the hastening of victory for the legions of Uncle Sam.

WILLIAM J. ROBINSON

Mankind must forever bow before the spectacle of martyrdom that has always been the lot of European Jewry.

HAROLD ROSENBERG

In the strict observances of Jewish customs, ritual and tradition, lies, to a great extent, the secret of the survival of the Jew.

MEYER SCHUMAN

May those whose sacred task it will be to heal the wounds of a post war world, possess the wisdom of sages and the insight of prophets.

MICHAEL SHAPIRO

No days must pass but that a crusading spirit motivate us to serve our stricken brethren and the cause of the United Nations.

WILLIAM M. SHAPIRO

Now in the midst of travail and distress, when the mailed fist threatens all peoples, let us foster learning, culture and the virtue of tolerance.

FRANK E. SHUDNOW,

Master in Chancery, Superior Court

When our warriors return home let us be mindful in a postwar world of our responsibilities to our defenders.

DAVID F. SILVERZWEIG,

President, Decalogue Society of Lawyers

It would be a tragic and a dismal failure if a peace is not designed that would make a repetition of the current war an absolute improbability.

LOUIS STEINBERG

We must subordinate private ambition, thoughts of material gain and advancement to the proposition of winning the war. In this lies the security of our families and country.

I. B. URY

In saluting the younger men who bear the brunt of fighting in the field, on the sea and in the air, we must vow that their deeds shall never be forgotten.

LOUIS A. WITTENBERG,

President, Loop Orthodox Synagogue

Throughout the ages, in the darkened hours of Jewish history, religion has always been and will remain forever the main sustaining force of our people.

DR. CHARLES H. ZUN

The tragic story of the calamity that is World War II will never be complete until the story of the sacrifices of the Russian fighters and people is fully told.

